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Handbook
FOR
SPEAKERS and WRITERS
ON THE
DRINK QUESTION

(Fourth Edition)

REVISED TO SEPTEMBER, 1918



THE FREEDOM ASSOCIATION
Amberley House, Norfolk Street
London

Five Shillings.

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First Edition, March 1912.

Second Edition, Nov. 1913.

Third Edition, March 1916.

Fourth Edition, Sept. 1918.

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"No man denies that best things may be abused ; but it is a rule resulting from many pregnant experiences, that what doth most harm in the abusing, used rightly doth most good. And such a good to take away from honest men, for being abused by such as abuse all things, is the greatest abuse of all."

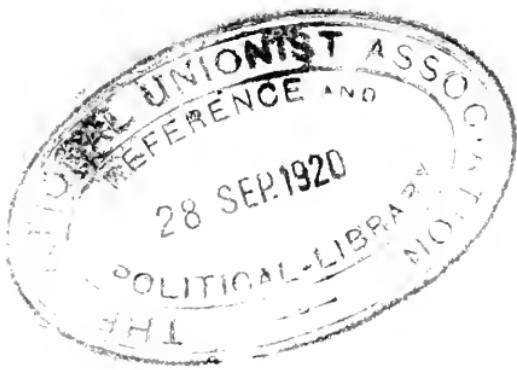
(From John Milton's *Essay entitled—*

"*Expositions on Places of Scripture which Treat of Marriage.*")

THE FREEDOM ASSOCIATION

Amberley House, Norfolk Street

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HANDBOOK

FOR

Speakers and Writers

ON THE

DRINK QUESTION.

I.—SOME POINTS OF LAW.

The purpose of this chapter is not to make the reader a licensing lawyer, but to state briefly a few legal matters which it is useful for a layman writing on licensing matters to know.

The licensing law is still very complicated, but an effort has been made, not altogether unsuccessful, to reduce its chaotic complexities within more reasonable bounds by codifying the chief statutes in operation. The result of the effort is the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1910.

THE JUSTICES' LICENCE.

A trader may not sell intoxicating liquor by retail unless he obtains two licences—(1) a licence from the justices, and (2) an excise licence (sec. 1). For the purposes of justices' licences the country is divided into licensing districts, which are the same as petty sessional divisions in a county (or the whole county, if it is not divided into petty sessional divisions) and boroughs where there is a separate commission of the peace (sec. 2). In petty sessional divisions the licensing justices are the justices of the division (sec. 2); in boroughs the justices appoint a licensing committee from among their number (sec. 3).

A general licensing meeting of the justices is held annually in the first half of February, and at this meeting licences may be granted to such persons not disqualified by a conviction for felony, &c., as the justices, “in the execution of their powers under this Act, and in the exercise of their discretion,

think fit and proper" (secs. 9 and 10). Any member of the local community is entitled to oppose the grant of the licence; and the justices must not bind their discretion beforehand by any general rule, but must consider the circumstances of each case independently (*R. v. Walsall* (1854) 18 J.P. 757). But their discretion is a large one, both as to the kind of person and the kind of house that they will license. Where a brewery company is owner or occupier of the premises, the licence is frequently applied for and held by a manager, the company being liable as innkeeper.

When the justices grant a licence it has to be confirmed by the confirming authority (sec. 12), which is quarter sessions in a county, and the whole body of the justices in a borough, or, in small borough benches, a joint committee of county and borough justices (sec. 2). Opponents to the licence when it was granted may appear again before the confirming authority (sec. 13). The discretion of the confirming authority on the merits is absolute (*R. v. Middlesex Licensing Committee* (1878) 42 J.P. 469).

In granting a licence the justices may attach to it such conditions as they think proper in the public interest. This includes the payment of monopoly value, but no greater payment than the monopoly value, which is defined as "the difference between the value which the premises will bear, in the opinion of the justices, when licensed and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed"; it may be paid by instalments. But, "in estimating the value as licensed premises, of hotels, or other premises where the profits are not wholly derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors, no increased value arising from profits not so derived shall be taken into consideration." The justices may grant the licence as an annual licence, or for a term not exceeding seven years, but in the latter case an application for a re-grant at the end of the period will be treated as an application for a new licence. A licence so granted may be forfeited, in addition to other grounds of forfeiture, if any condition is not complied with, or the holder is convicted of any offence committed by him as such. Conditions in justices' licences may be varied by the confirming authority (sec. 14).

The above has reference to new licences. Holders of existing annual licences have to apply for renewal, and they may be opposed if the opponent sends written objection beforehand; but the justices may on their own motion adjourn the application for the attendance of the licensee (sec. 16). Sometimes, when the premises are enlarged, as by the taking in of adjoining premises, the application for renewal is treated as an application for a new licence.

TAKING AWAY A LICENCE.

Renewal of an ordinary on-licence can only be refused, without compensation, on one or more of the following grounds ; (1) That the licensed premises have been ill-conducted ; (2) that the premises are structurally deficient or structurally unsuitable ; (3) that the character or fitness of the applicant is unsatisfactory ; (4) that for some legal reason the renewal would be void. Substantially the same grounds, with the language varied, are applicable to the pre-1869 beer-houses and pre-1903 off-licences (secs. 17 and 18). Off-licences, however, are not subject to closing with compensation.

Where the justices desire to close a house on other grounds, they refer the licence to the compensation authority, which is, in a county and a borough not a county borough, quarter sessions ; in a county borough, the whole body of borough justices (sec. 19).

The compensation authority considers the reports so made to it, and may give persons interested an opportunity of being heard, and refuse the renewal of the licence, subject to compensation (sec. 19).

The compensation is to be a sum equal to the difference between the value of the licensed premises (including in that value the amount of the depreciation of trade fixtures through the closing of the house) and the value which the premises will bear unlicensed (sec. 20). "Value" in each case means the price which the property would fetch in the open market. To ascertain the market price of the licensed premises if let at a rack-rent, the rack-rent should be capitalised ; if the premises are owned by a brewer and let to a tenant as a tied house at less than a rack-rent, the rent and the profits from the sale of liquor form the basis of the valuation. The rent and profits are then capitalised, but the number of years' purchase will vary with the circumstances. (*In re Ashby's Cobham Brewery Company* [1906] 2 K.B. 754—"The Kennedy Judgment.")

If the amount of the compensation is not agreed between the persons interested and the compensation authority, it is determined by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, with an appeal to the High Court ; and in any event the amount is divided among the persons interested in such manner as may be determined by the compensation authority, unless the authority chooses to send the question to the county court (sec. 20).

The persons interested are—the holder of the licence, the owner, the mortgagee (if there be one), and generally any persons who, in the opinion of the compensation authority,

have an interest in the premises. With reference to the licence holder, "regard shall be had not only to his legal interest in the premises or trade fixtures, but also to his conduct and to the length of time during which he has been the holder of the licence; and the holder of a licence, if a tenant, shall (notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary) in no case receive a less amount than he would be entitled to as tenant from year to year of the licensed premises" (sec. 20).

The fund out of which the compensation is paid comes from a levy imposed upon licence holders. It is graduated according to the annual value of the premises, from a maximum of £1 in houses whose annual value is less than £15, to £100 where the annual value exceeds £900 (sec. 20 and Third Sched.). Neither the maximum levy, nor any levy at all, need be made in any year; and though the maximum levy has hitherto been most frequently imposed by compensation authorities, reduced levies are common, and omissions to impose any levy have become fairly common during the War. The authority may borrow money, with the consent of the Secretary of State, for a scheme of reduction. Though the licence-holder is primarily responsible for payment of the levy, he may deduct part of it from his rent, notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary. If his unexpired term does not exceed a year, he may deduct the whole of it if it does not exceed half the rent, and the proportional deduction dwindles away gradually to 1 per cent., where the tenant has more than 55 years to run (sec. 21 and Third Sched.).

The compensation fund has also to bear, in addition to the compensation money, the expenses of the compensation authority and those of the licensing justices (including expenses in connection with granting new on-licences), to the extent which the compensation authority may allow (sec. 21).

The licensing justices have power, subject to confirmation by the confirming authority, to grant removals in their discretion. Removals are of two kinds—special and ordinary. A special removal applies to the case of premises being demolished for a public purpose, or rendered unfit for use by fire, &c. An ordinary removal is the grant of permission to a licence-holder to remove to more conveniently situated premises in the same licensing district, or some other licensing district within the same county (secs. 24 and 26). There is no appeal from the justices' refusal to grant an ordinary removal.

The licensing justices have power, during the year, to grant transfers from one licence-holder to another of licensed premises (sec. 23). If they refuse, there is an appeal to quarter sessions (sec. 29).

The licensing justices have power to grant a protection

order to owners of houses whose licences have been endangered or forfeited by the licensee (sec. 87). This order enables the business to be carried on pending a transfer.

In every licensing district a register of licences is kept, and in it are entered particulars of misconduct by licensees and any matters relating to the disqualification of the premises &c. (sec. 50). The justices must have regard to these entries when the licensee applies to them for a renewal, &c. (sec. 52). The register is open to the inspection of any ratepayer on payment of a shilling (sec. 53).

CLOSING HOURS.

The hours during which licensed premises may be open are rigidly regulated (sec. 54 and Sixth Sched.). The open hours on week-days are—in the metropolis from 5 a.m. to 12.30 a.m. (12 on Saturdays); beyond the metropolis, but within the metropolitan police district, or in a town or populous place, from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m.; elsewhere, from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. On Sundays, Christmas Day, and Good Friday the open hours are—in the metropolis, from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m.; everywhere else from 12.30 p.m. to 2.30 p.m., and from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. But Wales has complete Sunday closing. [But see Control Board's Orders as to actual closing hours at the present time, p. 25.]

The police in London, or the magistrates elsewhere, may grant exemptions from the general closing hours in particular cases for the accommodation of persons attending markets, &c. (sec. 55) and exemptions for special occasions to any on-licences (sec. 57). And the licensing justices, outside the metropolis, may vary the Sunday closing hours (sec. 56). An applicant for a licence may ask the justices to insert a condition that the house shall be closed an hour earlier than the statutory time (sec. 59), and six-day licences may be applied for (sec. 59)—in each case with corresponding reductions in the licence duty (sec. 60).

The penalty for contravening the closing hour obligations by the licensee is a fine up to £10 for the first offence and to £20 for subsequent offences (sec. 61) and up to 40s. upon members of the public found in the house (sec. 62).

The closing hour obligations do not apply to the licensee's private friends, entertained at his expense, to lodgers, or to bona-fide travellers. To constitute a bona-fide traveller the person must have lodged the preceding night at least three miles distant (sec. 61). False representation renders the offender liable to a fine up to £5 (sec. 62).

OFFENCES.

If any person who does not hold the requisite justices' and excise licences sells intoxicating liquor, he is liable, for the first offence, to a fine up to £50 or a month's imprisonment with or without hard labour; for the second offence, the figures are £100, and three months; for subsequent offences, £100 and six months. Conviction for a second offence forfeits the justices' licence, if the offender has one, and he may be disqualified from holding a licence for five years; for a subsequent offence, for his lifetime (sec. 65).

It is an offence, punishable by fine (£10 first, and £20 subsequent offences), for a holder of an off-licence to allow intoxicating liquor to be consumed on his premises (sec. 66).

It is an offence to sell spirits to anyone apparently under the age of 16 (sec. 67), also to sell any description of intoxicating liquor to anyone under 14, unless in corked and sealed vessels in quantities of at least a pint (sec. 68).

It is an offence to sell intoxicating liquor (except in cask or bottle), if of half a pint or more, otherwise than by standard measure (sec. 69).

It is an offence (the penalty including forfeiture of the licence) to make an internal communication between licensed premises and a house of public resort (sec. 70) such as a restaurant.

A publican is subject to the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, and so may be convicted for selling adulterated liquors, and he may not sell spirits containing an excess of water without notifying his customers. (*Pastoler v. Stevenill* (1877) 35 L. T. 862.) Any adulteration or dilution of beer, or the addition of anything, except finings, is an offence under the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1885 (sec. 8), and is punishable by forfeiture of the liquor and a fine of £50. Mixing good beer with beer of inferior quality is dilution. (*Crofts v. Taylor* (1887) 19 Q.B.D. 524.)

It is an offence to permit drunkenness, or any violent, quarrelsome, or riotous conduct on licensed premises, or to sell intoxicating liquor to a drunken person. Penalty, £10 first offence, £20 subsequent offence. When it is proved that a person was drunk on licensed premises, the licensee must prove that he and his employés took all reasonable steps for preventing drunkenness (sec. 75), and the licensee is responsible for his servants' acts, although they are in breach of his instructions. (*Commissioner of Police v. Carturan* [1896] 1 Q. B. 655.)

It is an offence knowingly to permit licensed premises to be the habitual resort of reputed prostitutes. They may only be on the premises for the time necessary for obtaining

reasonable refreshment (sec. 76). Permitting licensed premises to be used as a brothel entails a fine of £20 for each offence and forfeiture of the licence (sec. 77).

It is an offence to allow a constable on duty to remain on licensed premises, except in the execution of his duty, or to supply him with any refreshment, except by authority of a superior officer, or to bribe or attempt to bribe him (sec. 78).

GAMES AND GAMING.

A licensee must not suffer any gaming or the playing of any unlawful game on his premises, or permit them to be used as a betting house (sec. 79).

A game of skittles played for beer is gaming. (*Danford v. Taylor* (1869) 20 L. T. 483.) So is any game if played for money (*Dyson v. Mason* (1889) 22 Q.B.D. 351), but not a game for prizes given by a third person (*Lockwood v. Cooper* (1903) 72 L.J.K.B. 690). "Unlawful games" are ace of hearts, pharaoh, basset, hazard, passage, roulet, every game of dice except backgammon, and every game of cards which is not a game of mere skill—and perhaps any other game of mere chance. (*Jenks v. Turpin* (1884) 13 Q.B.D. 505.) Dominoes is not an unlawful game. (*R. v. Ashton* (1852) 22 L.J.N.C. 1.)

POLICE SUPERVISION.

Any constable may, for the purpose of preventing or detecting the violation of any of the provisions of the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, which it is his duty to enforce, at all times enter on any licensed premises (sec. 81). The constable may enter, though on no more definite ground than that he wants to see if there is anything wrong. (*R. v. Dobbins* (1887) 48 J.P. 182.) The police authorities make reports on the public-houses within their jurisdiction at the annual licensing sessions.

ALTERATIONS IN LICENSED PREMISES.

An alteration in licensed premises which gives increased facilities for drinking, or conceals from observation any part of the premises used for drinking, or which affects the communication between the part of the premises where intoxicating liquor is sold and any other part, or any street or public way, must not be made without the consent of the licensing justices, who, before giving their consent, may require to see plans of the proposed alterations. If alterations are made without the magisterial consent, the licence may be

forfeited, or an order may be made to restore the premises to their original condition (sec. 71).

The local authority (under sec. 44 of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1907) may order the provision of urinals at public-houses.

When a licensee applies for renewal of his licence the justices may order him to make such structural alterations as they may think reasonably necessary to secure the proper conduct of the business. The penalty for non-compliance is 20s. per day during default. The licensee cannot be ordered to make further alterations for five years (sec. 72).

DISQUALIFICATION OF INTERESTED JUSTICES.

No justice who is a shareholder in a brewery, distillery, or malt company, or in partnership in such a business, or who is a retailer of malt or any intoxicating liquor, in the licensing district in which he usually acts, or in an adjoining district, may act for any purpose under the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, or be capable of appointment to any committee for the purposes of the Act. The prohibition extends to a justice interested, as owner, &c., of any premises, if the interest be of a beneficial character. The penalty for acting is a fine not exceeding £100 (sec. 40).

So also, apart from the Act, may a justice be disqualified, if it can be shown that his impartiality is affected, as where a member of an association, one of whose objects was to oppose all licences, instructed a solicitor to oppose a transfer, and sat as one of the justices hearing the application for the transfer. The order refusing the licence was set aside. (*R. v. Fraser* (1893) 57 J.P. 500n.). In Ireland, however, it has been held that subscription to an association for securing a diminution in the number of public-houses and organising strong opposition to licensing applications was not a bar to taking part in the hearing of an application. (*R. v. Dublin JJ.* [1904] 2 I.R. 75.) The result of a number of cases appears to be that the decision of the justices will not be questioned unless direct pecuniary interest or a real bias in favour of one of the parties is shown.

LICENCE DUTY.

This is collected in connection with the Excise licence, which a licensee must have as well as the justices' licence. The scale of payment was reorganised and increased by the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910. The principal duties are the following:

A distiller pays duty on the number of proof gallons distilled during the preceding year £10, if not exceeding 50,000

gallons, £10 for the next 50,000 gallons, and £10 for every further 25,000 gallons.

By the Immature Spirits (Restriction) Act, 1915, distillers are forbidden to deliver spirits for home consumption until they have been warehoused for a period of at least three years.

A brewer pays duty on the number of barrels brewed during the preceding year—£1 if not exceeding 100 barrels, £1 for the next 100 barrels, and 12s. for every further 50 barrels.

But the principal taxation is to be found in the direct taxes on the product—on spirits and on beer—as set out in the scale in Chap. XIV., of £2 10s. a barrel.

For a publican's licence the duty is half the annual value of the premises, subject to a minimum, which is graded from £5 in areas with a population of less than 2,000, to £35 where the population is 100,000 or over. In Ireland the minimum is £5 in areas with a population of less than 10,000, and £7 10s. where the population is 10,000 or over. In Ireland the minimum is £3 10s. in areas with a population of less than 10,000, and £4 where the population is 10,000 or over.

For a beerhouse licence the duty is a third of the annual value of the premises, subject to a minimum, which is graded from £3 10s. in areas with a population of less than 2,000, to £23 10s. where the population is 100,000 or over.

Where the annual value of the premises exceeds £500, the licensee may be granted the option of paying an amount equal to a third of the annual licence value, provided that the duty so calculated is not less than £250 for a fully licensed house, and £166 13s. 4d. for a beerhouse.

In estimating the value as licensed premises of hotels or other premises used for purposes other than the sale of intoxicating liquor, no increased value arising from profits not derived from the sale of intoxicating liquor is taken into consideration.

WAR LEGISLATION.

The above *résumé* of licensing law for the most part takes no account of the temporary laws which have been enacted to control the trade still further during the war. It is assumed that these laws will terminate with the war. For the time being, however, it must be remembered that the Orders (for a specimen of which see p. 25) made by the Liquor Control Board over-ride the ordinary licensing law almost throughout the country.

E. E. W.

II.—THE LIQUOR CONTROL BOARD.

In the early months of the war Parliament, without opposition, mostly without any discussion, handed over to the Government the most tremendous powers which representatives of the people have ever given away. It was for the most part done by passing Bills called Defence of the Realm Acts, under which the Executive was empowered to frame and enforce regulations of a highly penal and most drastic character, taking away constitutional liberties and intimately affecting the lives of the people. The gravity of these Regulations was scarcely adumbrated in the Acts, and Parliament did not reserve to itself any power of overhauling them or controlling their administration. As a result, laws came into force to which Parliament never gave its explicit assent.

DEFENCE OF THE REALM (AMENDMENT) NO. 3 ACT, 1915.

Among this series of Acts was the Defence of the Realm (Amendment) No. 3 Act, 1915. It was passed at the instance of Mr. David Lloyd George, M.P., and represented the residuum of a series of proposals for interfering with alcoholic beverages which he proposed in Parliament in the spring of 1915, and which Parliament refused to sanction. But this particular measure (together with one other—the Immature Spirits Bill) Parliament allowed to go through, relying upon Mr. George's soft phrases in recommending the Bill, such as his assurance that "the Government would not proceed with anything which could be regarded as controversial," that action would not be taken without the support of "local sentiment," that the control sought by the Bill was only meant for munition and transport areas during the war, where necessary, and that "there should be as little disturbance as possible." The House of Commons had just shown that it would have nothing to do with severely repressive measures by opposing Mr. George's other proposals, and it gave him the authority of this Bill on the faith that he would not use it for the purpose of repression.

Yet not only were the powers of the Act dangerously wide, and so should have put Parliament upon its guard, but there was really no justification for such an Act at all ; for intemperance was declining, disorder was non-existent ; there was the ordinary law to restrain drunkenness ; the Defence of the Realm Regulations had given the military authorities powers of control over public houses, and an Act passed in the early days of the war—the Intoxicating Liquor (Temporary Restriction) Act—had given the magistrates, acting with the chief constables, power to restrict beyond the limits of the licensing laws the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages, and the power was being applied where it was deemed necessary.

The Act provides that—

“ Where it appears to His Majesty that it is expedient for the purpose of the successful prosecution of the present war that the sale and supply of intoxicating liquor in any area should be controlled by the State, on the ground that war material is being made or loaded or unloaded or dealt with in transit in the area or that men belonging to His Majesty’s naval and military forces are assembled in the area, His Majesty has power, by Order in Council, to define the area and to apply to the area the regulations issued in pursuance of this Act under the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act, 1914, and the regulations so applied shall, subject to any of the provisions of the Order or any amending Order, take effect in that area during the continuance of the present war and such period not exceeding twelve months thereafter as may be declared by Order in Council to be necessary in view of the conditions connected with the termination of the present war.”

There is not a word in the Act about Parliamentary control or approval of the regulations to be made ; and, therefore, in all the circumstances there was cast upon Mr. Lloyd George a very imperative duty not to use the extraordinary powers confided to him except in a most moderate way.

THE REGULATIONS.

By the Regulations which were framed and promulgated under the powers of the Act a Board is constituted (R. 1) and is given the (needlessly offensive) title of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic). It is made absolutely the creature of the Minister of Munitions, as it is to consist of “ such persons as the Minister of Munitions may from time to time appoint.” This demonstrated two important points—(1) Mr. Li. George’s responsibility for the acts of the Board ; (2) the strict confinement of the Board’s operations to the speeding up of munition manufacture.

The Board's control over the sale of beverages is contained in Regulation No. 2 and in the amplest possible terms, including power to close altogether any club or licensed house, and subject the sale in clubs and licensed houses to any conditions which the Board may choose to impose, to regulate the introduction of intoxicating liquor into an area and its transport through it (this amounts to the power of complete prohibition), and to require licensed businesses to be carried on under its supervision. The third Regulation empowers the Board to prohibit any retail sale, except by itself, not only in shops and public-houses, but even in clubs.

The fourth Regulation invests the Board with the extraordinary power to prohibit treating. Because the practice of treating is a social custom which (like many others) sometimes becomes a nuisance and a burden, many of the public have failed to notice the violation of the elementary right of giving hospitality which is involved in making it actually a criminal offence ; but the matter is really one of vital importance. It was never hinted at in Parliament, and it is a grotesque outrage.

Then follows a number of regulations of a directly socialistic character in the economic sense. Their purpose is to enable the Board itself to acquire and run public-houses. Unless one accepts the socialist theory of government, such a project is open to the gravest objections ; and these objections are not minimised when one examines the methods by which the Regulations propose that this socialistic experiment shall be carried out and has been largely evaded or ignored in practice.

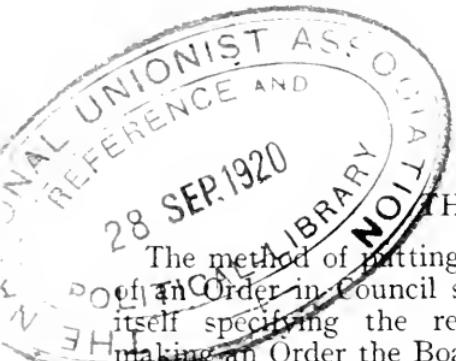
Hitherto, when a private industry has been acquired by the State, due care has been taken to see that the dispossessed owners are properly compensated, and (as, e.g., in the recent instance of the acquisition of the telephones) the price to be paid has been settled by an independent tribunal. But not only do these Regulations contain no such provision for the proper independent assessment of the property to be acquired, but they contain positive provisions which seem to have been designed to enable the Board to acquire public-house property upon any terms it chooses. It may (R. 6) acquire "any licensed or other premises" "compulsorily or by agreement," or it may "take possession of the premises and any plant used for the purposes of the business carried on therein." Where (R. 7) the Board determines to acquire compulsorily, it is to serve a notice upon the persons interested, and "the fee-simple in possession of the premises . . . shall at the expiration of ten days from the service of the notice on the occupier, by virtue of these Regulations, vest in the trustees for the Board, subject to or freed from any mortgages, rights and interests affecting the same as the Board may by order direct." The

Board has contended (*Cannon Brewery Company v. Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic)* [1918] W. N. 181) that, under these provisions, it may just seize, after ten days' notice, another man's property, and if there are any mortgages upon it, treat them as non-existent, so that the unfortunate owner is not only robbed of his property and livelihood, but he may be sued on his covenant by his mortgagees for the sum he has borrowed from them on the security of the confiscated business, and that the victims had no redress save in such compensation as might be awarded them by the Royal Commission for making *ex gratia* payments to those whose property has been interfered with for war purposes. But the Courts have scouted this outrageous contention, and have said that confiscation must be properly assessed under the Lands Clauses Act.

The framers of these Regulations next determine (R. 8) that "they may, by the like procedure, acquire any business (including stock-in-trade) carried on in any premises within the area."

They next free themselves (R. 9) from liability to pay the heavy licence duties which subtract from the publicans' profits. And then they go on to proclaim their immunity from all the licensing restrictions which hamper the holders of public-house licences, and give themselves power (R. 10) to cater for enlarged business by "the provision of such entertainment or recreation for persons frequenting the premises as the Board think fit," as well as by affording "postal and banking facilities" at their public-houses (R. 11).

Now licensing restrictions have been imposed by Parliament in order to safeguard temperance, and the preamble to the Regulations recites that the Regulations are framed for "preventing the efficiency of labour . . . from being impaired by drunkenness, alcoholism or excess"—the same purpose which animates the statutory restrictions from which the Board declares itself immune. They were probably right as to the ineffectiveness of the restrictions. But why then are they still imposed upon licensees and their public; and why did the Regulations, when legislating for licensees, and not for the Board itself, take power to make these ineffective, but burdensome, restrictions yet more severe? After contemplating such cynical effrontery one almost passes over unnoticed such other Regulations as that which enables the Boards, Inspectors to enter a club or public-house and inspect and copy any books and documents found therein (R. 18), with a six months' imprisonment and £100 fine penalty for the offence of not answering this inspector's questions (R. 19); that penalty applies to infringement of any of these Regulations.



THE ORDERS.

The method of putting the Board into control is by means of an Order in Council scheduling a named area, the Order itself specifying the restrictions to be enforced. Before making an Order the Board goes through the farce of holding a preliminary local enquiry. Whatever may be the opinions expressed at the enquiry the Board has scheduled the area just the same. The Board has held these investigations in private, so that the public did not know what really passed at them. Even members of the trade which was threatened with injury have been excluded. For example, during the enquiry at Hull, permission to representatives of the trade to be present as listeners only was refused. But the vigilance of the Board in excluding reporters and other inconvenient persons has not always been completely successful. When the enquiry was held at Plymouth it was found by one gentleman, who gained access and took notes, that the General commanding the town, the commander of the surrounding district, the representatives of the Naval Authorities and the Dockyard, the representative of the Anglican Bishop of the diocese, and representatives of various local industries, were all emphatically against an Order being made. The Order was made all the same.

Yet Mr. George had stated in the House of Commons that at these enquiries opportunity was given for leading sections of local opinion to state their views. "The Board will not make any order affecting any new area without consulting interested parties in the locality, such as naval and military authorities, police, local government and licensing authorities, leading employers, trade union organisations, and the licensed trade."

Parliament was befooled as to the nature of the restrictions when it listened to Mr. George's talk about carrying out the Act with "as little disturbance as possible." The maximum of disturbance has been created. The Regulations have been amply reproduced in the Orders. Over the whole of the great metropolitan district it was made impossible to get, in a restaurant or public-house or one's club, a drink containing an excisable amount of alcohol, including a harmless glass of light beer or cider, before midday, or in the afternoon after 2.30, or in the evening after nine o'clock. The same restrictions even have been imposed upon the purchase of beverages at a shop for consumption at home. No orders for spirits may be given except between midday and half-past two, or at any time on Saturday or Sunday. Irritating rules are made as to the conveyance to the purchaser's house of the beverages he has bought and their inspection by the police. It is forbidden

to order, e.g., a barrel of cider from the makers in Herefordshire unless the money is sent before delivery. It is forbidden to buy a glass of brandy for a sick person, except a duly qualified medical practitioner be first called in, and be induced to write out a certificate of necessity—an obviously useless concession in the case of sudden illness in the street. It is forbidden for a man to pay for his wife's glass of beer—though he pays for everything she has, or to give her the pence to buy the beer—though all her money comes from him. A respectable man, and the licensee serving him, have actually been fined at Bristol for this heinous crime. But it is not forbidden to infringe the Sale of Food and Drugs Act by adulterating spirits below the old statutory strength. An Order of the 1st January, 1917, makes it an offence to sell spirits unless reduced to 30 deg. under proof, and permits dilution up to 50 deg., the limits of permissible dilution under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1879, were, for gin 35 deg.; other spirits, 25 deg.

This is how munition work has been protected with "as little disturbance as possible" of the habits and freedom of the population; while Lord D'Abernon, the chairman of the Board, found it possible to say in public that the Board had exercised its powers "with perhaps excessive moderation"!

How the Orders have been worked may be gathered from the following:—

"A market porter seized with cramp in the stomach was taken into a public-house during prohibited hours, and in her husband's absence the licensee's wife was persuaded to give the man a little brandy, for which payment was not made. It was held there had been a breach of the Regulations, and both licensee and porter were fined."

(*"Express and Star," Wolverhampton, January 31st, 1916.*)

Here is another episode:—

At the inquest held on April 25th, 1916, at Westminster, on the body of an old man who committed suicide in the Thames at Temple Stairs, and who was rescued by Mr. Algernon Aspinall, it was stated in evidence by Mr. Aspinall (who sent the statement from bed, where he was confined owing to a chill caught by his immersion) that he went to the nearest licensed stores for brandy, but was refused because it was during closing time. The Coroner (Mr. Ingleby Oddie) said that this was "a dreadful omission in the regulations" of the Control Board, for brandy might have saved the old man's life and prevented Mr. Aspinall from suffering from chill (*See Evening News, April 25th, and Daily Graphic, April 26th, 1916.*)

THE EFFECT OF THE ORDERS.

Of course the Board has claimed that the effect of its restrictions has been most gratifying. Early in its career it published an official report of its activities, the most valuable feature of which is the unguarded statement that " undue importance should not be attached to the foregoing figures for drunkenness."

It is a fact that drunkenness has almost disappeared, and the Board's Orders may have contributed to this disappearance, but the general trend towards temperance, the absence of millions of men from the country, the military control over large numbers remaining in the country, the scarcity of liquors and their diminished alcoholic content, are far more important factors. And the mere sobering by repressive measures of the comparatively few drunkards in the country does not justify taking away the liberties of the great mass of the population. Nor was the Board established for that purpose. The Board's activities, on the other hand, have not always resulted even in helping the growth of temperance. In some directions they have positively hindered it. For instance, one result of the orders was a serious increase in home drinking. Police court missionaries and magistrates have testified to this result, and when a tragedy from home drinking came before the Bootle coroner, Mr. Brighouse, that gentleman was fain to utter the following unpalatable sentiments :—

" It was a pity the Central Board had not been there to listen to the facts. To his mind any legislation which encouraged drinking in the privacy of houses, where neither the police nor anybody else had any control, was bad legislation. . . . If in days gone by the Legislature, instead of driving everybody out of the public-house into private houses, had encouraged and made the public-house more a place of recreation and pleasant and nice surroundings, they would have done far better than they had done. This sort of thing could not have happened in a public house. The closing of the public-houses made these people buy large quantities of drink, and they got blind drunk, which they could not do in a public-house." (*Liverpool Courier*, January 4th, 1916.)

It was not only in Liverpool that the Control Board was found out. In London the Secretary of the Police Court Mission has said (*Daily Graphic*, January 14, 1916) :—

" The shortened drinking hours and the prohibitive measures have had very little real effect. One regulation, indeed, that spirits may only be purchased by the bottle, has had a bad effect. It has induced home drinking, which is worse than drinking in public-houses, where a certain check is exerted.

Two or three women club together and buy a bottle of whisky or gin—women rarely drink beer to excess—and take it home. That is going on all over the country, and for every one case which comes out in court, there are fifty of which one hears nothing."

In other Lancashire cities the bad effects of the Control Board's orders have received official castigation. The acting Chief Constable of Salford, in his annual report (published in the *Manchester Despatch*, of April 11th, 1916) wrote :

"Special observation by the police showed that the order stimulated what might be called the 'jug and bottle trade,' especially in off-licensed premises. This points to an increase in private drinking."

The failure of the Control Board to fulfil the purpose for which it was called into being was illustrated by the fact that the Board's friends have tried to justify it by talking about drinking among women. A Manchester correspondent of the *Times*, for instance, wrote (*Times*, February 7th, 1916) : "I have many figures as to the extent of drinking by women in Lancashire, and these convinced the Central Liquor Control Board, in face of the opposition of the Watch Committee and the police, and, of course, of the Liquor Trade, that drastic restriction of the drinking hours was as urgent in the Manchester area as elsewhere." But what had this to do with speeding up the output of munitions? No more than the appointment of Mr. Snowden to the Board. The Board is not—at least, according to the Act establishing it—a Grand Inquisitor of morals, or a police force for propagating temperance, but a body appointed by Parliament in a foolish moment for the single purpose of checking certain alleged excesses of munition workers and soldiers, in so far as they were hindering the prosecution of the war. The excesses were grossly exaggerated; the means which the Board adopted to check them are unreasonable; and so the Board switches its malevolent energies on to the maligned women of the country! Yet on October 20th, 1915, Lord D'Abernon wrote that "the limits of our jurisdiction are strictly laid down in the Act and in the Regulations, and there is no danger that they will be exceeded."

One more activity of the Board may be cited. It appointed a committee of women to investigate the alleged excessive drinking among women—a matter which was quite outside the Board's statutory province. This Committee reported, with a recommendation that "special plain clothes inspectors" should be appointed to visit public houses, to find out if the Board's regulations were being observed! This proposed introduction of the spy is a development worth noting.

THE MODEL REGULATIONS.

The Regulations imposed are, with some small exceptions, practically stereotyped in form. Below is a specimen :—

Order of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) for the North-East Coast Area.

Any person contravening any provision of this Order or of the Liquor Control Regulations is liable to imprisonment for six months with hard labour and a fine of £100.

WE, the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), in pursuance of the powers conferred upon us by the Acts and Regulations relating to the Defence of the Realm, hereby make the following Order :—

Limits of Area.

1.—The area to which this Order applies (here the boundaries of the area are set out).

Hours during which Intoxicating Liquor may be sold.

A.—For Consumption ON the Premises.

2.—(1) The hours during which intoxicating liquor may be sold or supplied in any licensed premises or club for consumption on the premises shall be restricted and be as follows :—

On Weekdays :—

The hours between 12 noon and 2.30 p.m., and between 6.30 p.m. and 9.30 p.m.

On Sundays and Christmas Day :—

The hours between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m., and between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m.

Except between the aforesaid hours no person shall—

(a) Either by himself or by any servant or agent sell or supply to any person in any licensed premises or club any intoxicating liquor to be consumed on the premises ; or

(b) Consume in any such premises or club any intoxicating liquor ; or

(c) Permit any person to consume in any such premises or club any intoxicating liquor.

B.—For Consumption OFF the Premises.

(2) The hours during which intoxicating liquor may be sold or supplied in any licensed premises or club for consumption off the premises shall (subject to the additional restrictions on spirits) be restricted and be as follows :—

On Weekdays :—

The hours between 12 noon and 2.30 p.m., and between 6.30 p.m. and 9.30 p.m.

On Sundays and Christmas Day:

The hours between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m., and 6 p.m. and 9 p.m.

Except between the aforesaid hours no person shall—

- (a) Either by himself or by any servant or agent sell or supply to any person in any licensed premises or club for consumption off the premises or (except as hereinafter is expressly provided) dispatch therefrom any intoxicating liquor ; or
- (b) Take from any such premises or club any intoxicating liquor ; or
- (c) Permit any person to take from any such premises or club any intoxicating liquor.

Additional Restrictions as to Spirits.

3.—In addition to the above general restrictions as to hours during which intoxicating liquor may be sold or supplied, the sale and supply of spirits in licensed premises and clubs shall be subject to the following special restrictions, that is to say :—

- (a) No orders for spirits to be consumed off the premises shall be given by or accepted from any person actually present in any licensed premises or club except on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays and during the hours between 12 noon and 2.30 p.m.
- (b) Spirits to be consumed off the premises must not (except as hereinafter expressly provided) be despatched from any licensed premises or club, nor must they be taken therefrom by the person to whom they are sold or supplied or by any person acting on his behalf, except on the days and during the hours aforesaid.
- (c) Spirits to be consumed off the premises shall not be sold or supplied in or taken from any licensed premises or club in any bottle or other vessel not bearing a label showing the name and situation of the premises or club, or in any vessel of a capacity less than one reputed quart, or in any less quantity than one reputed quart, or in any open vessel.
- (d) No spirits to be consumed off the premises shall be sold or supplied in or taken from any refreshment room in any railway station.

Conditions as to Distribution.

4.—No person shall either by himself or any servant or agent—

- (a) Sell, supply, distribute, or deliver any intoxicating liquor from any van, barrow, basket or other vehicle or receptacle unless before the liquor is dispatched it has been ordered, and the quantity, description, and price thereof together with the name and address of the person to whom it is to be supplied has been entered in a delivery book or invoice, which shall be carried by the person delivering the liquor, and in a day book which shall be kept on the premises from which the liquor is dispatched.
- (b) Carry or convey in any van, barrow, basket or other vehicle or receptacle while in use for the distribution or delivery of intoxicating liquor, any such liquor not entered in such delivery book or invoice and day book.

- (c) Distribute or deliver any intoxicating liquor at any address not specified in such delivery book or invoice and day book.
- (d) Refuse to allow any constable to examine such van, barrow, basket or other vehicle or receptacle or such delivery book or invoice.
- (e) Authorise or permit any person employed to deliver, distribute, or take or solicit orders for intoxicating liquor, to receive or make any payment in respect of intoxicating liquor, or, being a person so employed, receive or make any such payment on behalf of any other person.

Hours of Opening for the Supply of Food and Non-Intoxicants.

5.—Notwithstanding any provisions of this Order or of the law relating to licensing or the sale of intoxicating liquor :—

- (a) Licensed premises and refreshment houses may be kept open for the supply of food and non-intoxicating liquor at any time during which they may be kept open under the general provisions of the Licensing Acts ; and
- (b) Licensed premises may be opened for this purpose at the hour of 5.30 in the morning.

Saving Provisions.

6.—Nothing in the foregoing provisions of this Order shall be deemed to prohibit, in cases where the same is otherwise lawful—

- (a) The consumption of intoxicating liquor by any person in any licensed premises or club where he is residing ; or
- (a2) The consumption of intoxicating liquor at a meal by any person in any licensed premises or club at any time within half an hour after the conclusion of the afternoon and evening hours during which the sale or supply of intoxicating liquor is permitted by this Order : Provided that the liquor was sold or supplied and served during such hours at the same time as the meal and for consumption at the meal.
- (b) The sale or supply of spirits to any person producing a certificate in writing signed by a duly qualified medical practitioner that the spirits are immediately required for medicinal purposes ; or
- (c) The dispatch from licensed premises for delivery at a place more than five miles distant of any spirits or other intoxicating liquor in the forenoon of any day on which the sale of the same for consumption off the premises is permitted by Article 2 (2) and Article 3 of this Order as the case may be.

Treating Prohibited.

7.—No person shall either by himself or by any servant or agent sell or supply any intoxicating liquor to any person in any licensed premises or any club for consumption on the premises unless the same is ordered and paid for by the person so supplied ; nor shall any person order or pay for or lend or advance money to pay for any intoxicating liquor wherewith any other person has been or is to be supplied for consumption on the premises ; nor shall any person consume in any licensed premises

or club any intoxicating liquor which any other person has ordered or paid for or agreed to pay for or lent or advanced money to pay for :

Provided always that if such intoxicating liquor is supplied or served for consumption at a meal supplied at the same time and is consumed at such meal, the provisions of this regulation shall not be deemed to be contravened if the person who pays for such meal also pays for such intoxicating liquor.

For the purposes of this regulation consumption on the premises includes consumption of intoxicating liquor in or on any highway, open ground, or railway station adjoining or near to the licensed premises or club in which the liquor was sold or supplied ; and any person consuming intoxicating liquor in or on any such highway, open ground, or railway station shall be deemed to consume the liquor in such licensed premises or club as the case may be.

Credit Prohibited.

8.—No person shall—

- (1) (a) Either by himself or by any servant or agent sell or supply in any licensed premises or club or dispatch therefrom any intoxicating liquor to be consumed either on or off the premises ; or
- (b) Consume any intoxicating liquor in or take it from such premises or club,

unless it is paid for before or at the time when it is supplied or dispatched or taken away.

Provided always that if the liquor is sold or supplied for consumption at a meal supplied at the same time and is consumed at such meal, this provision shall not be deemed to be contravened if the price of the liquor is paid together with the price of such meal and before the person partaking thereof quits the premises.

(2) Introduce or cause to be introduced into the area any intoxicating liquor unless it is paid for before it is so introduced.

Long Pull Prohibited.

9.—No person shall either by himself or by any servant or agent in any licensed premises or club sell or supply to any person as the measure of intoxicating liquor for which he asks an amount exceeding that measure.

Dilution of Spirits.

10.—The sale of whisky, brandy, and rum reduced to a number of degrees under proof which falls between 25 and 35, and of gin reduced to a number of degrees under proof which falls between 35 and 45, is hereby permitted, and accordingly in determining whether an offence has been committed under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts by selling to the prejudice of the purchaser brandy, whisky, rum, or gin not adulterated otherwise than by the admixture of water, it shall be a good defence to prove that such admixture has not reduced the spirit more than 35 deg. under proof in the case of whisky, brandy, or rum, or 45 deg. under proof in the case of gin. [This provision is superseded by the Order of the 1st January, 1917 : see above, p. 22.]

Explanatory Provisions.

11.—(a) Nothing in this Order authorises any licensed premises to be kept open for the sale of intoxicating liquor except during the hours now permitted by law.

(b) The prohibition under this Order of the sale, supply, and consumption of intoxicating liquor except during certain hours is not subject to the exceptions provided for in the Licensing Acts with respect to *bona fide* travellers and the supply of intoxicating liquor at railway stations or any other provisions in those Acts enabling intoxicating liquor to be supplied during closing hours in special cases.

(c) The expression "licensed premises" includes any premises or place where the sale of intoxicating liquor is carried on under a licence.

(d) This Order does not affect the sale or dispatch of intoxicating liquor to a trader for the purposes of his trade, or to a registered club for the purposes of the club.

(e) This Order does not affect the sale or supply of intoxicating liquor to or in any canteen where the sale of intoxicating liquor is carried on under the authority of a Secretary of State or of the Admiralty.

Exhibition of the Order.

12.—The secretary of every club to which this Order applies and every holder of a licence for the sale of intoxicating liquor shall keep permanently affixed in some conspicuous place in the club or in each public room in the licensed premises a copy of this Order and any other notice required by the Board to be so affixed.

A general amending order was published in the *London Gazette* and came into force on April 17th, 1916. It is now provided that in each of the orders already made by the Board the following shall be inserted :—

No person shall, either by himself or by any servant or agent :—

"Solicit or canvass for orders for, or collect or receive payment for, intoxicating liquor except at the licensed premises; or

Send, or cause to be sent, or leave or cause to be left, to or at any premises, or to or with any person, any order form for intoxicating liquor; or

Cause or permit any payment for intoxicating liquor to be made on his behalf by any person in the service or employment of the vendor of the liquor, or, being a person in such service or employment, make any such payment as the agent or on behalf of the purchaser of the liquor.

It is further provided that: No person shall either by himself or by any servant or agent, despatch from any licensed premises or club any intoxicating liquor to be consumed off the premises unless it is paid for before or at the time when it is despatched.

III.—RESTRICTION OF OUTPUT.

The output of beer for the year ending March 31st, 1914, was 35,864,291 standard barrels, but owing to the shortage of tonnage, due to the War, the Government under the Output of Beer (Restriction) Act, 1916, interfered with the output, and reduced it to 26 million standard barrels.

On January 24th, 1917, the then Food Controller, Lord Devonport, in order to economise foodstuffs, advised that the output of beer should be further reduced to 18,000,000 standard barrels as from April, 1917. But before this change came into operation, owing to the continued submarine menace, and the actual loss of shipping, the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that a further reduction was necessary, and that the figure of 10,000,000 barrels must be aimed at for the year commencing April 1st, 1917. This decision was brought into effect, but it was subsequently decided to increase the barrelage temporarily from July 1st, 1917, by 33½ per cent. After allowing for certain increases authorised in order to meet the needs of the Army and munition and other workers, it is estimated that, for the nine months from April 1st, 1917, to December 31st, 1917, the output of beer for the whole population, including the Army, amounted to 10,500,000 standard barrels, or at a rate of about 14,000,000 barrels a year—a reduction of about 64 per cent from the pre-war figure.

In October, 1917, in order to prevent the light qualities of beer from being sold at unduly high prices, the Food Controller fixed 4d. and 5d. per pint as maximum prices in public bars for beers of certain specified gravities.

Simultaneously with the restriction on beer, and to prevent beer drinkers turning to liquors of greater alcoholic strength in the shape of spirits, the withdrawals of spirits from bond were, as from April 1st, 1917, cut down to half the quantities during the year 1916. The manufacture of all spirits for human consumption was entirely stopped in 1917, and no whisky or other potable spirits are now being distilled.

In 1918 further restrictions were introduced. Under the Intoxicating Liquor (Output and Delivery) Order, 1918, which came into operation on April 1st, 1918, the maximum standard barrelage which a brewer for sale might brew in any quarter is the same as he was permitted to brew in the quarter commencing April 1st, 1917, namely, his share of 10,720,442

standard barrels per annum for the whole of the United Kingdom; but beer must be brewed at an average gravity not exceeding 1,045 deg. in Ireland and 1,030 deg. in other parts of the United Kingdom.

Under the Beer (Price and Description) Order, 1918, which also came into operation on April 1st, 1918, the maximum prices which may be charged for beer in a public bar, as defined in the Order, is 4d. per imperial pint for beer of an original gravity below 1,030 deg., and 5d. per imperial pint for beer of an original gravity not lower than 1,030 deg. and not higher than 1,034 deg. There is no restriction of price on beer of an original gravity higher than 1,034 deg.

It should be explained that a standard barrel of beer is a measure of 36 gallons with a specific gravity of 1,055 deg.; or to put it more simply, the 1,000 represents water, and the figure over represents the solid food material. The duty, increased by the Budget of 1918 from 25s. to 50s. per barrel, is calculated on the standard barrel.

The following table shows how much the gravity is reduced compared with the average of 1915:—

	Average Gravity, 1915.	New Gravity, 1918.
England ...	... 1,051	... 1,030
Scotland ...	... 1,047	... 1,030
Ireland ...	... 1,066	... 1,045

The relation of standard barrels of beer to bulk barrels as issued for consumption may be gathered from the fact that 16,133,800 standard barrels brewed in 1917 were equivalent to 21,336,600 bulk barrels brewed at a gravity of 1,042·66.

In addition to restricting output the Government has made restrictions regarding the materials used in brewing. By a Board of Trade Order in November, 1916, the use of wheat in brewing is prohibited. This order is not of any great practical importance. It had been the practice of some brewers occasionally to use wheat instead of barley malt, but not to any substantial extent.

An Order dated November 19th, 1917, placed a restriction on the kinds of sugar which may be used by brewers.

Under this order a brewer may use in the brewing of beer the following: (a) Solid glucose; (b) invert of low grade cane sugar of a polarisation not exceeding 89 deg. from which not less than 40 per cent. of its weight in the form of crystal sugar or grocery syrup or grocery honey sugar has been

extracted ; (c) any caramelised products of solid glucose or of such invert of low grade cane sugar as above described and (d) mixtures of solid glucose and the invert and caramelised products as above mentioned.

In the same order the maximum amount of sugar permitted was also prescribed, and the amount for each brewer was to be ascertained by reference to the total amount of sugar used in 1915.

The raw sugar imported is of so low a grade that refiners of sugar for ordinary use would not import it. But it answers the purpose of the brewers who require what is known as "invert." This invert is produced by refining the low grade raw material from which a minimum yield of 40 per cent. of domestic sugar is thus obtained. This 40 per cent. of sugar extracted from the raw material may not be used in brewing, and so it becomes available for ordinary use. It is sold in the market, and the national supply of domestic sugar is thus increased by the brewer. Nor is there any waste of tonnage in the importation of this sugar. It comes from Brazil, Mauritius, Natal, Manilla, &c., nearly always in small parcels to make up the dead weight with cargoes of lighter goods.

WINE.

When the beer barrelage and release from bond of spirits were restricted in 1916 clearances of wine from bond were also subjected to restriction, and thus an opportunity for enabling the restricted beer supply to be compensated by a larger consumption of light table wines was missed. As a result ships carrying cargoes to Bordeaux and Spain and Portugal often came back empty because they were not allowed to bring the wine which usually formed their return freight. At length our French and Portuguese Allies protested, and the British Government eventually agreed that there should be no restriction of importations of wine from France and Portugal.

Under an Order made by the Food Controller in March, 1917, the release of wine from bond was further reduced by 50 per cent. of the amount released in 1916. But in November, 1917, with a view to checking an increased demand for spirits and bringing a larger proportion of available beer within the reach of working classes, the War Cabinet decided to the release of wine from bond up to the full amount released in 1916 : and in June, 1918, all restrictions upon the release of wine from bond were removed.

IV.—BEER AND FOOD.

The most valuable argument at the present time in favour of beer is its food value. This value is of two kinds : (1) its direct food value ; (2) its indirect value as an aid to the assimilation of other foods.

THE DIRECT FOOD VALUE OF BEER.

That beer is a pleasant, appetising, refreshing, clean, stimulating drink most of us know well enough, and those who know anything about its manufacture are aware it is pre-eminently a pure drink.

Similar praise might be given to tea and coffee, but beer has other recommendations which tea and coffee have not. It has a food value ; it contains food itself, and it helps to get the best value out of the solid food eaten with it.

As to its own food value, Dr. John Campbell, B.Sc., one of the advisory experts to the Ministry of Food, writes :

" Beer has about 5 per cent. of alcohol [he of course refers to a beer of substantial gravity], and contains in solution maltose, dextrin, proteid and vitamines." These are the scientific names for the various things which make up a food and give it its value. Perhaps the value in the case of beer can best be realised if a comparison is drawn between beer and milk. " One pint of such beer," continues Dr. Campbell, " yields 480 foot tons, as compared to 540 yielded by a similar quantity of milk." (By a foot ton is meant the measure of energy required to raise one ton one foot high ; it is the most convenient way of calculating the energy value of foods.) Thus beer in energy production is not greatly inferior to milk itself.

The Commission appointed by the " Hospital " in 1909 to investigate the value of beer reported that " If the worth

**Beer as
good
as Milk.**

of a food is measured by its calorimetric value, the fact is that a glass of good ale is approximately as nourishing as a glass of milk, and

that a quart of good beer is nearly equivalent to a quarter of a pound of bread." There is a further point in favour of beer. " Nearly the whole of this nutriment," writes Dr. Campbell, " is in predigested form, ready for immediate assimilation." In other words, the process of malting and brewing does some of the work that the stomach has to do in the case of other foods. When food is taken in the form of beer a much bigger proportion gets used in the

body than when the same substances are taken in another and less digestible form. Thus in similar quantities, more nutriment is derived from barley beer than from barley bread.

Ranke, the eminent food physiologist, has written as follows concerning the food value of beer (quoted by Dr. Carl Rach, of New York. See *Brewers' Gazette*, April 11th, 1918) : " Beer, which is more and more becoming a popular beverage the world over, is an imitation of wine, and in some respects an improvement on wine. It contains a relatively small amount of alcohol, and also carbon dioxide, sugar and dextrin, these constituting the bulk of substances in solution. Moreover, it contains the bitter and the aromatic principles of hops, and a residue of gluten bodies, fat, lactic acid, nitrogenous compounds, and mineral substances which pass from the barley and the hops into the beer. For this reason it cannot be denied that, in the general sense of the word, beer possesses considerable food value ; its value as a food, however, neither depends upon this point alone, nor solely upon the alcoholic content. Without doubt beer represents one of the best substances for meat extract, since most of the active substitutes are common to both ; in the case of beer the presence of alcohol, with its indirect effect upon the brain, must be considered, and for this reason beer is even superior to meat extract in several ways."

Among the recent discoveries of science is the existence in certain foods of tiny organisms called vitamines. More

has yet to be learned about their action, but

Vitamines. enough has already been found to show that they play a very important part in nutrition. Sir James Crichton Browne writes concerning them :—

" They are present in most kinds of food in their natural condition, and their presence in the diet of young animals is essential to growth, while their absence from the diet of animals of any age is apt to be followed by scurvy or neuritis. These bodies play a part in nutrition, until lately unsuspected, and exert a stimulant action which seems to be essential to the maintenance of the plant or animal."—" What we Owe to Alcohol," p. 7.)

The Lancet, of September 19th, 1917, says :—

" There is, however, one point overlooked in regard to the rôle of beer in the dietary. It contains a material amount of diet deficiency substances of the order of vitamines, and investigations have shown that beer added to the dietary increased the assimilation of non-nitrogenous foodstuffs and particularly of fats, while alcohol in moderate amount increased protein absorption from nitrogenous foods. Then again, beer

has undoubtedly a condimental action and often makes the simple meal attractive, if it is only bread and cheese.

"Thus regarded, beer, instead of representing a waste of food materials from which it is made, may actually effect an economy in inducing in those whose custom it is to drink it a better appropriation of the food they consume. In the recent bitter controversy about the merits and demerits of beer this consideration should not be left out of the equation, in justice to beer drinkers, who are modest in their demands for the national beverage."

Now vitamines are found in exceptionally high numbers in malt liquors (they probably come from the yeast, a substance which is full of them and therefore is so valuable as food). It is said that only one other food, or at any rate, one other beverage, contains such a high proportion as do malt liquors, viz., milk.

Then there is the food value of the alcohol in beer, apart from the other ingredients; concerning this the following quotations from the Liquor Control Board's Book on "Alcohol" are useful, as coming from a source which is certainly not prejudiced in favour of alcohol :—

Food Value of Alcohol. "A series of elaborate and careful experiments . . . was carried out by Atwater and Benedict in America, and their observations have been confirmed by other workers. The results give definite proof that alcohol is oxidised in the body as completely as the carbohydrates, and rather more completely than the fats and proteins (p. 23).

"It has been suggested that the energy liberated by this oxidation of alcohol cannot be used by the body, but is lost in the form of superfluous heat. This possibility has been examined and disproved. Atwater and Benedict were able to show that the body can derive up to one-fifth of the total energy it requires from the metabolism of alcohol. There can be no doubt, therefore, that alcohol is a 'food,' in the sense of a fuel the body can use. . . . (p. 23).

"Experiments of the kind described above have shown that, up to a certain point, carbohydrates can be replaced by alcohol. . . .

"All those who have made experiments on the point, agree in finding that alcohol can take the place of part of the fats in a diet. If a fixed diet, sufficient for maintenance, is given, the addition of alcohol to it protects some fat from oxidation, and allows more fat to be added to the body's reserve supply. . . . " (p. 24).

" We are not discussing whether alcohol can take the place of protein, for nothing can truly do so ; the question is whether alcohol can act like carbohydrates and fats in economising protein by reducing to a minimum the amount which the body requires. The general result of experiments made to determine this point shows that it can " (p. 25).

" The food value of alcohol, within limits, is no less than that of a corresponding quantity of sugar or lard . . ." (p. 27).

" The energy liberated by the combustion of a moderate amount of alcohol can be used by the body to its full value.

" Alcohol can, within limits, replace an equivalent amount of carbohydrate or fat in a diet, and has a similar effect in economising proteins " (p. 28).

Here are a few further scientific opinions on the value of alcohol as a food.

The Committee of the Royal Society on Food Supply states in its Report (p. 34) :—

" A moderate quantity of alcohol may, if the conditions serve, actually take the place in nutrition of a dynamically equivalent quantity of fat or of sugar."

Dr. Robert Park, in his book " The Case for Alcohol," published in 1909, says :—

Importance of Alcohol as Food. " Alcohol and alcoholics are stimulants because they are readily assimilable foods. Even when used in narcotic dosage a large portion of the overdose is food used " (p. 27).

" Whatever disadvantages may attach even to the use, let alone the abuse, of alcohol, it must be admitted to be a matter subject to digestion and of the first rank in nutritive power, surpassing even the sugars in this respect " (p. 74).

Dr. J. Starke, an eminent German physiologist, in his book " Alcohol ; the Sanction for its Use," says :—

" Of all our articles of food and drink, alcohol is the only one that has the two important properties of abating nervous irritability and of so influencing the distribution of the blood that the skin becomes rich in that fluid and the internal organ sparingly provided with it " (p. 11).

" Alcohol does not belong to the ' poisons.' It is rather a substance which, taken in moderation, nourishes and exerts special effects on the nervous system, effects that are not even ' disturbances,' and therefore not phenomena of poison (p. 20).

"Beer, from the manner of its preparation and from its composition (especially because the nutritive value of its alcohol is to be added to that of its carbohydrates), is, apart from the part it plays as a beverage, to be reckoned as in the first class of carbohydrate (cereal) nutriments" (pp. 5 and 6).

"That amount of alcohol which, if it influences digestion at all, affects it favourably, is absorbed easily by the body and used as a nutriment with the exception of a small loss. It performs the same duty as is done especially by the carbohydrates, *i.e.*, it produces heat, as they do, and is a source of strength for the labour for the muscles" (p. 151).

Dr. Chalmers Watson, in "The Book of Diet," published early in 1913, says :—

"For a woman suffering from general nervous exhaustion a glass of beer or stout, given with one meal daily, for a time, is occasionally of distinct value, acting as a bitter tonic and at the same time supplying a relatively large amount of nutriment in a fluid form."

Dr. Davy, President of the British Medical Association, speaking at Exeter on August 1st, 1907 (see *Daily Express*, August 2nd, 1907), said :—

"In my opinion a meal of cheese, bread and light beer is infinitely more scientific than a meal of bread, tea and jam."

Dr. Gastineau Earle, in a lecture on "The Food Factor in War," delivered at the Institute of Hygiene on February 18th, 1915, as reported in the *Times*, of February 19th, 1915, said :—

"Taken in moderation, alcohol was a valuable food, especially when men were fatigued, and a valuable aid to digestion and absorption of other foodstuffs."

At the Institute of Hygiene, on January 26th, and reported in the *Times* on February 27th, 1916, Mr. Grant Ramsey, the Principal, said : "The tea and bun lunch of the girl clerk, and the poor feeding of the male clerk, who had a meal of tea and hash on his return home were examples of waste in their worst form. There was no nutrition in either. It was better to have a glass of beer and a small piece of good meat."

Even the ash present in beer is valuable. The biggest ingredient under this head is potash, and next phosphoric acid. Other minerals present include soda,

Ash. silica, magnesia, lime, &c. Concerning them a scientific contributor, Mr. James Scott, writes in the American *Brewers' Journal*, of April 1st, 1918, as follows :—

"The human body consists very largely of mineral matter (although it is classed as organic), and that the partial exhaust-

tion, or, at any rate, the wearing down, of some of these during work, whatever it may be, calls for restoration, through the agency of food. It is not difficult to prove that beer furnishes one of the most agreeable, digestible and satisfactory sources for necessary renovation, its stimulating powers aiding its dietetic operations.

Phosphate of lime for bones, phosphoric acid suitably adapted for brain and nerves, iron in a remarkably oxidized state for blood, pigmentary substances in hair, skin, and so on—these are a few of the most prominent minerals of the body.

Too much of the wrong kind of mineral matter would, of course, be more pernicious than useful. However, although it is possible to extract these substances from beer in the shape of ash, the fact must not be lost sight of that they remain dissolved and distributed throughout the unburnt beer in organic arrangement. In other words, the water, alcohol, and related fluids of the beer hold them in chemical solution instead of as solid particles, thereby enabling the glands of the alimentary system to utilize them in the best available manner."

Ranke, discussing the value of the ash in beer in the passage already quoted, says: "A striking fact is the high content of potassium sulphate, a salt which we have come to recognise as one of the chief constituents of beef tea. Undoubtedly this salt plays an important part in the nerve-stimulating effects which beer produces in conditions of exhaustion. The large amount of this potassium salt in the blood is probably responsible for the lethargic effect produced by unduly large quantities of beer. It is also responsible for the organic hypertrophy which we find in people who habitually drink too much beer, and in this stimulation of organic growth we have the explanation for the therapeutic effect of beer (malt extracts) for convalescents and invalids."

THE INDIRECT FOOD VALUE OF BEER.

The International Dietetic Physiological Research Institute, which was established to carry out, among other things, investigations in regard to the physiological and dietetic properties of beer, held an inquiry some years ago into this important question. Among its conclusions as set forth in Pflüger's "Archives of Physiology" (*See The Hospital*, of September 30th, 1911) is the following:—

Pflüger says: "Beer extracts added to a dietary almost devoid of organic condiments increases the assimilation of

Beer a Condiment. the non-nitrogenous foodstuffs, particularly fats, and is, therefore, to be regarded as a condiment, the value of which can be expressed in definite numerical terms."

This means that when beer is taken with solid food, increased value is obtained from the solid food.

The body does not extract the full 100 per cent. value of any food ; the proportion varies with circumstances, but one circumstance which helps to get the highest proportion of value is the drinking of beer with the food.

In 1911, the following appeared in *The Lancet* :—

“ Although beer does not contain a large amount of nutrient material, there appears to be little doubt that in the healthy individual it favours the assimilation of food in a manner akin to such condimental substances as meat extract, pepper, salt, vinegar, mustard, and so forth. Recent investigations on this point at all events show that malt extractives contained in beer, added to a dietary almost devoid of organic condiments, increases the assimilation of non-nitrogenous foodstuffs, particularly fats. In addition, 86 per cent. of the extractives of beer themselves are assimilated and yield about 81 per cent. of their thermal energy to the system.

“ Beer supplies, however, a negligible amount of proteins, but the stimulus of its alcohol increases protein absorption from nitrogenous foods. In these scientific terms, therefore, the practical observation that beer, bread and cheese make an appetising nutritious whole receives definite endorsement. Physiologists have put forward from time to time various explanations of the fulness and plethora which often succeed the habitual and excessive drinking of beer—it is strikingly exemplified in the brewer’s man—and it now appears that this effect is not due to the nutritives of the beer, but to the tonic or condimental action of the malt extractives, which increase the assimilation of the foodstuffs partaken with it.”

In a letter to *The Times* of April 10th, 1915, Dr. Chas. Mercier wrote :

“ A large proportion of our people of all classes not only never take too much, but also find the moderate amount they

Beer do take keeps them in better health, enables
Stimulant them to digest their food better, to sleep
 and better, and do more work than if they went
Digestive. without. There is no just comparison to be made between the effects of vodka or absinthe and the effects of sound beer or light wines. A man who is engaged in strenuous and laborious muscular exertion is refreshed and reinvigorated, when fatigue begins, by a glass of beer, and is better able to continue his labour ; and generally, the supreme value of a dose of alcohol in enabling a man in an emergency to get the last ounce of energy out of himself is too well established to be contested. Laboratory experiments, conducted under highly artificial conditions, and often with a

determination to arrive at a foregone conclusion, are not trustworthy guides to practice under working conditions."

Dr. F. M. Sandwith, the Gresham Professor of Physics, spoke in the same sense, in the course of his Gresham lectures of May, 1912, when he said : "The presence of alcohol in the mouth causes an increased flow of saliva, and as it enters the stomach it increases the flow of gastric juice and stimulates the muscular movements of the organ, giving an appetite and aiding the digestion when it is taken in a properly diluted form. In this respect it is of the greatest value to the old and feeble whose appetite needs stimulating and whose digestion is improved by the drug.

The special value of beer at the present time, when food is less in quantity and poorer in quality is therefore obvious. It not only provides a man with additional and valuable food, but increases the nourishment to be obtained from his war bread and renders it more digestible. The like cannot be said of any beverages, except other fermented liquors, such as wine.

The German Army is thorough and scientific in its methods, and the following statement by General von Ardenne (quoted from the American *Brewers' Journal*, of April 1st, 1918, is therefore worth noting :—

"Very considerable voices have been heard to say—the utterances have lately found expression in pamphlets written by experienced officers—that it is necessary to provide quite particularly good supplies for troops which are to be prepared for an offensive on a large scale (he of course refers to beer). The German Army Command has not failed in this matter hitherto, and, with the support of the self-sacrificing people at home, is still doing its utmost in this respect. This is shown especially by the fact that four-fifths of our whole production of beer and tobacco, the luxuries which it is most difficult for the soldier in the field to do without, are reserved for the fighters at the front. The importance of these tonics for stomachs and nerves can be appreciated only by those who have shared the lot of the troops."

THE ECONOMICS OF BREWING.

It is said that we cannot afford to turn barley into beer—that brewing is an uneconomical use of barley. That is not true. Malting and brewing are the best uses to which barley can be put. This can be most conveniently demonstrated by looking at what happens to a quarter of barley which is so used.

It weighs 448 lbs.—during the process of malting 16 per cent. is lost, due to the evaporation of the water, but it leaves behind 339 lbs. of dry malt and 15 lbs. of culms, which form a most valuable feed for cattle. They are fed (in a moistened condition) to cows in milk, at the rate of about 7 lbs. per diem; horses can take about the same quantity dry, pigs up to 2½ lbs. and calves up to 4½ lbs. daily.

**From
Barley to
Beer.**

There must also be reckoned among the by-products of the quarter of barley about 25 lbs. of poultry food and grinding barley.

Further, still more important, 400 lbs. of wet, or 100 lbs. of dry grains are also produced.

Yet another most valuable by-product is yeast, of which 20 lbs. wet or 5 lbs. dry, are obtained from a quarter of barley.

And lastly there is the main product—*five barrels of beer*. That is the quantity brewed from a quarter of barley if the gravity of the beer is 1,050 deg. The lighter beers prevalent to-day would be produced in a proportionally larger quantity from a quarter of barley; of beer at 1,027 deg. the yield from a quarter of barley would be 8.2 barrels.

A few words may be added regarding the chief of the above named by-products.

Yeast was at one time largely wasted, sometimes being put on the land as manure, but for the past fifteen years some thousands of tons of yeast per annum have

Yeast. been converted into a valuable human food material, which has all the stimulating and vitalising properties of meat extract. The manufacture of such a product is a striking technical achievement, and its production at the present time of meat scarcity makes it a matter of national importance. It is also being used in medicine. Its best known use is, however, in the baking of bread. It is possible to substitute baking powders; but it has frequently been found that powders of this description contain exceedingly deleterious ingredients; and yeast is infinitely preferred; it has been the process adopted by the human race from time immemorial. Dr. Wiley, the eminent American chemist and food expert, in his "Foods and their Adulterations," says: "It might, however, not be out of place to say that the use of chemical reagents (that is baking powder) for leavening bread is not as advisable as the use of ordinary fermentation (which is yeast). It would be better evidently if all persons used more yeast bread and less baking powder rolls." Yeast is now also dried and fed to stock, chiefly to pigs and cows, and otherwise made up as a blend in cattle foods. Its content of proteids and phosphates makes it of exceptional

value, and the Board of Agriculture has in recent years drawn attention to this fact.

The value of brewers' grains to the farmer is indisputable.

Brewers' Grains and Milk. Farmers themselves readily admit its worth to the feeding of milking cows and the fattening of bullocks.

The President of the Board of Agriculture on December 20th, 1916, said : "I think the public do not quite understand that the brewer not only brews beer, but produces milk. If we do not have the brewers' grains we could not send milk to our large towns in the quantities we now do." At a later date, on January 6th, 1917, Mr. Prothero said : "In our large towns brewing supplies a very valuable foodstuff for milch cows. To cut it off suddenly would seriously imperil the milk production of this country, and is a point that in future legislation the country must realise and bear in mind."

A London Grains Contractor wrote to the Press on January 17th, 1917 :—

"A milking cow is a very hollow animal, and needs a large bulk of feeding stuff to satisfy her, and there never has been or can be a feeding stuff to supplant wet **Why Grains are Good.** brewers' grains, both for satisfying the animal, producing a greater flow of rich, wholesome milk, and comparing as an economical feed with any other that could be named. This is the universal testimony of dairy farmers in the six home counties who have produced milk for the London markets all their lives. Possibly the same result might be obtained in the milk pail with oats that were bruised and steamed, but at four times the cost, irrespective of any allowance for the labour of preparation.

"He states in one part of his advertisement (this refers to a Strength of Britain Advertisement) that brewers' grains make milk 'dangerous,' in another that 'good food is converted into poison'; surely such statements as these should have been weighed more carefully before appearing in print; can he name one infant in fifty years who has been poisoned, or whose life has been jeopardised by being fed on milk partly produced from brewers' grains, and if not, then his wilfully misleading statements plainly prove the 'wish being father to the thought.'

"Unfortunately the Government restriction in brewing has caused the supply of grains to be much shorter than formerly, which has seriously diminished the output of this very valuable feeding stuff; this in turn has caused a large shortage

in the supply of milk for the Metropolis, and is to a very great extent responsible for the high price this very necessary commodity has now to be sold at."

This evidence of the value of brewers' grains is confirmed by examination of the contracts made with farmers by the great dairy companies. For example, Welford and Son's contracts contain no restriction upon the use of brewers' grains. Nor do those of the Aylesbury Dairy Company—though they do contain a clause providing that "all improper substances are to be excluded from cows' food"; evidently brewers' grains are not considered improper.

The Wiltshire Farmers, Ltd., also sell brewers' grains to their members, of whom there are 600. This company allows the use of brewers' grains up to 14 lb. per cow per day. Yet it is very particular as to the food supplied, prohibiting, for instance, altogether the use of turnip and other root leaves.

Dried brewers' grains have also been recommended by an expert as a valuable poultry food. (See article in *Daily Chronicle*, November 27th, 1916.)

In view of all these facts how is it possible to say that brewing is a wasteful process? The food value of beer has been shown at the beginning of this chapter.

Brewing not Wasteful. and we have now seen also how great is the value of the various by-products.

Could any better use be made of barley? It might be used as bread; it is being used to adulterate bread now, and the bread is not improved thereby, either in palatability or digestibility. Wheat is the proper constituent of bread, and oats the next best; barley is only justified if the others fail; and the by-products of milled barley are no more valuable than those of malted barley.

Barley might be used as feed to pigs, but that is not the most economical use. Professor A. D. Waller, of University College, London, in a letter to the *Times*, of

Beer v Bacon. December 4th, 1916, said the loss of calories on transforming brewing materials into beer, taking into account the feeding value of the

by-products, is under 50 per cent. of the original. If, instead of being employed in producing beer and the best and most economical feed for milking cows, the barley was used to feed pigs the loss of calories in transforming the barley into pig-meat would be much greater; Professor Waller put it at over 80 per cent. of the original. To use his own words:—

"The food value of beer (plus milk and meat per cattle food) is more than half that of the brewing materials used,

whereas the food value of the pig-meat is less than one-fifth of that of the same materials."

The only other argument left to the critics of brewing is that barley should not be grown at all. But good barley

crops can be grown on land which would not

Beer and Agriculture. produce good wheat crops; and barley is valuable from an agricultural view as a rotation crop.

Occasionally also one hears a complaint that land should not be wasted in hop growing. But the hop acreage now only amounts to 16,946 acres, a trivial allocation of our 27,081,481 acres under cultivation in 1917, for the production of something which adds to the tonic value and the palatability of the national beverage.

The sugar or "invert" used by brewers has been fully discussed in the preceding chapter, and it is unnecessary to say any more of its economical use in the production of this good and wholesome beverage except that sugar reduces the quantity of barley required in brewing.

We may close this chapter with an official statement from the Ministry of Food, published in the *Western Mail* on April 9th, 1918, dealing with the waste of food due

An Official View. to brewing. The statement, which was in the form of a letter addressed to the Aberavon, Port Talbot, and District Licensed Victuallers' Association said :—

1. "The present consumption of foodstuffs in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages is less than one-third of the consumption in the pre-war period. This is due (1) to the limitation of brewing, and (2) to the prohibition of distillation of potable spirits. The effect has been to reduce the average alcoholic content of beer by nearly 30 per cent., and a considerable quantity of the beer at present brewed now contains only about 2 per cent. of absolute alcohol, as compared with 1 per cent. which is permitted in non-intoxicating beverages.

2. "The total waste of food due to the use of grain and saccharine substances in brewing at the present restricted rate is somewhat less than 2 per cent. of the total food supply of the nation, or about equivalent to one week's total supply of food in a full year. This result is arrived at by crediting to beer only the solid food which it contains and allowing no food value to alcohol. As between the use of grain in brewing and in the production of meat or milk, the solid food recovered in brewing (excluding the alcohol) is about twice as great as that recovered in meat or milk from the same

quantity of grain. This is due to the fact that in the conversion of grain into meat or milk only between one-sixth and one-fourth of the food value of the grain is recovered in the meat or milk.

3. "The prohibition of brewing would involve immediately the substitution of other beverages in the dietary of those who at present consume beer, and since food material is used in most beverages the whole of the materials used in brewing could not be saved unless all beer drinkers substituted water as a beverage.

"The actual saving, if any, would be the difference between the food materials used in brewing and that which would be consumed in other beverages such as tea, coffee, and cocoa, with added sugar and milk. If additional supplies of these commodities were not obtainable, the increased consumption of them in re-placement of beer would lessen the present supply available for non-beer drinkers and especially for women and children.

"The estimated domestic consumption of milk in fluid gallons in the pre-war period was considerably greater than the present bulk of beer brewed. Probably at present it is approximately the same, viz., at the rate of about half a pint per head per day of the entire population, men, women and children.

"If the total grain used in brewing at present were all diverted to milking cows or used to replace other foodstuffs used for milk production, the additional milk supply could probably be increased by about 25 per cent., but, on the other hand, a corresponding or possibly greater quantity might be consumed in tea, coffee and cocoa used in re-placement of beer.

"The saccharine substances used in brewing are not of a kind which are at present used for domestic purposes, and even if they could all be diverted to other food uses than brewing, they would provide less than 1 oz. per week per head for the whole population.

4. "The question whether, in case it becomes necessary to ration bread, there should be a deduction from the bread ration corresponding to the beer consumed by individuals, and, indeed, the subject of alternative rations generally, is being fully considered. It is thought by some authorities that any scheme of alternative rations to beer should aim at putting the various classes of consumers on a level in respect of beverages rather than to make beer and bread alternative. In this connection it is obvious that the needs of women and children would require to be safeguarded as far as possible. The consideration above noted make it doubtful whether this would result from the further limitation of the supply of beer.

5. "The reply to the contention that the present quantity of beer is inadequate is that any increased supply would inevitably under existing conditions involve less of other food-stuffs, and would, therefore, inflict hardship upon the non-beer drinking population. The maintenance of the food supply at its present level is already a matter of considerable difficulty, and it is, therefore, quite impossible to increase the supply of any commodity involving use of food stuffs to any particular section of the community. It will be obvious that the problems involved are of a very intricate character, but in any case the principle of equity to all classes of the population will be considered as far as is practicable. Mutual toleration must be exercised by all classes, and especially as between those whose habits in the consumption of food and drink are at present widely divergent.

"Any measures considered necessary will be devised with a view to the conclusion of the war, and the Food Controller relies on all classes to comply with them in this spirit."

V.—THE PURITY OF BEER.

It is sometimes hinted that the beer usually supplied to the public is adulterated and impure, and we are bidden to lament that we can no longer obtain the pure beer which our fore-fathers used to drink.

In point of fact, beer is probably purer to-day than it was 100 years ago. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who produced the Budget for 1829, said : "Let the man who drugs his beer beware of the competition which will soon rob him of all his customers." That sentence was printed on the frontispiece of a little book, "The Town and Country Brewing Book," published about the same time, a book giving instructions as to the brewing of beer, and anyone who glances at its pages will see that the most extraordinary ingredients were commonly used in the beer of those days. Many of them the writer denounces, but he admits the not uncommon use of even the worst of them.

Among the well-known bitters used in beer he enumerates aloes and quassia ("probably the most harmless of the illegal bitters"). We are further told that some brewers mixed salt with wheat or bean flour, putting a handful in each cask before cleaning to promote the discharge of yeast, and occasionally the same mixture of flour and salt and flour and saltpetre was introduced into the tun to excite a languid fermentation ; and the writer goes on, " Ingredients are sometimes introduced which lie dormant in the cask for the purpose of collecting and attaching the acetus acid at the moment of its formation. The chief of these is lime in its various forms."

Again : "Hartshorn shavings to the extent of six pounds to twenty barrels were formerly boiled in the worts of the best London ale."

Among the flavours used were sweet flag, coriander seeds and caraway, long pepper, capsicum, grains of paradise, common ginger, &c. ; and the author "has reason to believe" that opium was still in use. He further speaks of the use of alum and salts of steel and oil of vitriol. It is needless to add that these ingredients have long since disappeared.

Not the least important department of the scientific work carried on in modern breweries is the careful analysis of grain in order to ascertain its fitness and potentiality for brewing. It is also well known that breweries are conducted with much greater regard to cleanliness than they used to be.

During the controversy over the Licensing Bill, 1908, Sir Thomas Whittaker published a list of what he called "Beer Materials," in which he included such chemicals as "alginol," "bisulphate of lime," "hydrosulphide of magnesium," and "calcium chloride."

How far he was aware of the uses to which the various preparations in his list are put we do not know. For the sake of the decencies, we trust he was ignorant on the subject; but in that case he should not have assumed the worst and passed on his ignorance, coupled with malicious innuendo, to his readers. But will it be believed that under the head of "Beer Materials" Sir Thomas included, as well as malt substitutes and sugars, primings, finings, yeast foods, water hardeners and cleansing fluids for vats, hose, drains, &c.?

It is almost incredible, yet it is the fact. It is for cleansing casks and other plant that hydrosulphide of magnesium is used. And so with chloride of lime, caustic soda, and potash. The first is for putting down drains, and the other two for cleaning hose, &c. But can even Sir Thomas have supposed that chloride of lime and potash and caustic soda are used in beer? Yet they appeared in his list of "Beer Materials."

Then there are "calcium chloride," "brewing salts," "gypsum," "hardening mixture," "salutil," and "kainit." Did Sir Thomas think that these were "Beer Materials"? Did he not know that they were used to harden soft water?

So with malto-peptone, amidene, and yubertas. These are simply yeast foods for stimulating the growth of yeast. They are not in the beer.

Others in this extraordinary list of "Beer Materials," "magic finings" (Irish moss and gelatine), "alginol," (or Iceland moss), "lævuline," "palose," "molose," "portose," "maltozan," "primings," "finings," "floculine," "electric finings," are simply the primings and finings which are the harmless, necessary materials for those processes in the production of beer which their names indicate. Do the teetotallers object to these processes? Or have they the smallest notion what they are talking about?

Then the maize flakes, the oat malts, the flake malts, the rice flakes, the maize grits, the rice grits, the flaked rice malt, the diastasic malt syrup, the oatex, and the patent grist, which also figure in the list. True, they are beer materials; they are preparations of malt or substitutes for barley malt. But they are equally expensive, equally wholesome; they are used not to cheat the consumer, but to give him a special quality of liquor, to cater for his taste or his particular wants by providing a kind of beer which barley malt, or barley malt alone, would not produce.

And the lævo saccharum, the malt saccharin, the dextrine-maltose, the lævulose saccharum, the detrolævulose, the saccharosite, the carameline, the maltexvert represent harmless and convenient sugar preparations, some of them giving sugar in an exceptionally pure (and expensive) form. Is sugar a poison?

The malt substitutes mostly in use in beer-brewing are unmalted barley, rice and maize, and invert sugar and glucose; and professional brewers maintain that these substances, so far from being unwholesome, are, under the scientific treatment they receive, genuine substitutes for and equivalents of the barley-malt, which is the basis of beer. These substitutes are not, however, used by all brewers; some do not even use sugar.

Fortunately there is an Official List of Beer Materials published by a Government Department which proves conclusively that beer is mainly brewed from

**Beer
Materials.** malt and hops, while other materials used in the actual process of manufacture are not only harmless but actually of dietetic value. The

list taken from the return for the United Kingdom for the year ended September 30th, 1914 (the latest year now available), is as follows: Malt, 52,525,634 bushels; unmalted corn, 92,385 bushels; rice, rice grits, flaked rice, maize grits, flaked maize, and other similar preparations, 1,566,506 cwt.; sugar, including its equivalent of syrups, glucose, and saccharum, 3,279,709 cwt.; hops, 62,655,438 lbs.; hop substitutes, 19,503 lbs. This last figure is worth noting particularly, in view of the nonsense which is talked about hop substitutes. Their amount is negligible, and they are not used at all by any of the big brewers, *i.e.*, by those brewing over 150,000 barrels a year.

Professor H. E. Armstrong, the eminent chemist, has said that beer is the only safe drink at the disposal of the public.

Reference may be made in this place to

"Temperance" Drinks. the so-called "temperance" drinks, for they are not at all remarkable for their purity.

Here is a list of materials used in their manufacture, taken from the columns of "temperance" beverage newspapers.

Highly concentrated soluble fruit essences, harmless soluble colours, froth headings, ginger ale essence, caramel colourings, porcherine (250 times sweeter than sugar), saccharine, liquid headings, fervescine, sol. ess. lemon, phospho-tartaric acid, ether, rectified for ice makers, liquid ammonia, whiting, kalarose, phospho-citric acid, acetic acid (from acetate of sodium and sulphuric acid), acids made by treating calcined bones with sulphuric acid or by boiling phosphorus and nitric acid with

water, foaming, B.P.S. (an ideal preservative), sugarine "the original and inimitable"), champagne cider (contains neither champagne nor cider), saccharose, stone ginger-beer essence (quantity required, one fluid ounce to each gallon of acidulated syrup with one ounce liquid heading), saponine, phosphoric acid, gingerine, capsicine, butyric and other flavouring ethers, minoka juice, special essences made to meet local trade requirements, matchless heading essence, Whittaker's extract of dandelion stout, carbonating syrups, lemon and dash essence, brimstone vitriol, hydrochloric acid mixture, salicylic acid.

The following recipes for temperance drinks are given in Mr. MacEwan's well-known book :—

Cherry.—Acid, benzoic, 1 ; ether, acetic, 5 ; ether, benzoic, 5 ; ether, oenanthic, 1 ; glycerine, 3.

Cider.—Alcohol, amylic, 4 ; chloroform, 4 ; ether, amyl-acetic, 4 ; ether, amyl-butyric, 4 ; ether, amyl, valerianic, 8.

Currant.—Acid, benzoic, 1 ; acid, oenanthic, 1 ; acid, succinic, 1 ; acid, tartaric, 5 ; aldehyde, 1 ; ether, acetic, 5 ; ether, benzoic, 1.

And here is how to make an essence :—

Apple Essence.—Deodorised alcohol, 40 ; pure apple jack (brandy), 40 ; valerianate of amyl, 10 ; glycerine, 5 ; aldehyde, 2 ; chloroform acetic, ether and nitric ether, 1 each.

In a report published August, 1912, the Birmingham City Analyst wrote :—

"An inspector who asked in a shop for non-alcoholic wine received a bottle labelled 'Ginger Wine' and another labelled 'Orange Wine.' Analysis showed that the ginger wine contained 11.8 per cent. of absolute alcohol and the orange wine 10 per cent." The City Analyst further reported that seventeen out of twenty-two samples of soda water were adulterated. In one case lead was present, and in seven samples there were an excessive number of bacteria.—(*Morning Post*, August 13th, 1912.)

EVILS OF EXCESS IN TEA AND COFFEE.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, which reported in 1904, though frequently quoted in support of total abstinence, received much evidence of the evils which result from excessive tea drinking. The report says :—

"It is not so much the actual deleterious effect of tea, though

on that point much evidence was given to show that in the form in which it is generally consumed it produces anaemia and neurosis, as that the money spent on it might with much greater profit be spent on other things."

Colonel Leetham, in giving evidence, which is quoted in the report, said :—

" He found that a large proportion of those rejected for enlistment were heavy tea drinkers who suffered from one form or another of varicocele, and were, in consequence, unfitted for long marches."

The report goes on to say :—

" Dr. Hawkes' experience of female workers employed in factories and workshops in Finsbury pointed to the same abuse of tea. In the case of many of these, tea is the only thing consumed before starting to their work from places in remote parts of the suburbs. During some years' work at a large metropolitan dispensary, he found that 80 per cent. of women and girls who came under his notice never touched solid food till the middle of the day : pickles and vinegar were then often the staple of the " solid " meal with tea, and tea again in the afternoon ; three or four pints of ' tea poison ' being thus absorbed in the course of the day. An enormous amount of dyspepsia is thus set up, which rapidly assumes acute forms, with the result that alcohol, at first taken to allay pain, is frequently the final refuge."

The Vice-Regal Commission on the Irish Milk Supply made the following reference to the evils of excessive tea drinking in its Final Report published in 1913 :—

" To the difficulty of obtaining milk or buttermilk has been attributed the disuse of oatmeal, the neglect to make home-made bread, and the habit of tea drinking. Of the evil effects of the last-named practice it is almost impossible to speak too strongly. Tea, even when properly made, is not nutritious ; and unfortunately it is often very badly made."

The *Brewing Trade Review* of February 1st, 1916, contained the following on the evils of excessive tea drinking :—

" The steady increase in the consumption of tea and the decreasing consumption of alcohol in the United Kingdom synchronise with expanding insanity returns. Dr. Macdonald, medical superintendent of the Dorset County Asylum, in one of his reports, pointed out that the black teapot is a tragic factor in the creation of lunatics. Dr. Sutherland, visiting medical officer to the Commissioners of Lunacy in Scotland, has told us that ' perhaps excessive daily infusions, or rather decoctions, of tea may have an unsettling effect on subjects mentally unstable from birth at adolescence, or at the climac-

teric,' while at a congress of the Royal Institute of Public Health the president said that ' side by side with the advancing mortality from tubercle, there was an alarming increase in the number of insane. The over-drinking of tea, particularly overdrawn tea, had more to do with the low state of health in Ireland and England than most people were inclined to recognise.' Dr. Andrew Wilson, commenting on the tannin danger, said : " I do not think it can be questioned that the excessive consumption of tea and coffee is responsible for much of the dyspepsia that prevails. . . . I should say that the average mortal who takes his whiskey and soda (in moderation, of course) is likely to be a healthier mortal than his neighbour who laps tea at all and every hour.' Dr. Wynn Westcott, a London coroner, in the course of an inquiry, remarked that ' one of the most injudicious things was to drink tea with a meat meal. Tea checked the flow of the gastric juice which was necessary to digestion. Water with meals, or, if one had the wickedness to drink it, beer, was far better than tea.' The War Office has thought it necessary to issue a circular to its girl typists warning them of the danger. The circular states that it is ' not only the cause of numerous nerve and heart troubles, but also leads frequently to indigestion and other serious internal complaints.' "

In the course of a lecture on " The Problems of Food and Drink," before the Institute of Hygiene, Mr. J. Grant Ramsay (Principal of the Institute) said " It was a fact that more illness, disease and degeneracy was due to the abuse of foods than to the abuse of alcohol. Even the abuse of tea was believed to be a greater cause of degeneracy, but, while all abuse was bad, it was no use being misled by the more prominent evidence of the abuse of drink." (See *Burton Daily News*, March 23rd, 1917.)

VI.—SCIENTIFIC OPINIONS ON ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES.

We are frequently told that the medical scientists favour total abstinence. Doubtless some of them do, but there are hardly two of them who express the same views on the subject. For every doctor who recommends total abstinence another can be found who favours a moderate consumption of alcohol.

The following manifesto, signed by the greatest authorities on medicine, chemistry, and dietetics, appeared in the *Lancet*, of March 30th, 1907 :—

In view of the statements frequently made as
The "Lancet" to present medical opinion regarding alcohol
Manifesto. and alcoholic beverages, we, the undersigned,
think it desirable to issue the following short statement on the
subject—a statement which we believe represents the opinions
of the leading clinical teachers as well as of the great majority
of medical practitioners.

" Recognising that, in prescribing alcohol, the requirements
of the individual must be the governing rule, we are convinced
of the correctness of the opinion so long and generally held,
that in disease alcohol is a rapid and trustworthy restorative.
In many cases it may be truly described as life-preserving,
owing to the power to sustain cardiac and nervous energy,
while protecting the wasting nitrogenous tissues.

" As an article of diet we hold that the universal belief of
civilised mankind that the moderate use of alcoholic beverages
is, for adults, usually beneficial, is amply justified.

" We deplore the evils arising from the abuse of alcoholic
beverages. But it is obvious that there is nothing, however
beneficial, which does not by excess become injurious."

T. McCall Anderson, M.D.,

Regius Professor of Medicine, University of Glasgow.
Alfred G. Barrs.

William H. Bennett, K.C.V.O., F.R.C.S.

James Crichton-Browne.

W. E. Dixon.

Dyce Duckworth, M.D., LL.D.

T. R. Glynn.

W. R. Gowers, M.D., F.R.S.

W. D. Halliburton, M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S.,

Professor of Physiology, King's College, London.

Jonathan Hutchinson.

Robert Hutchison.

Edmund Owen, LL.D., F.R.C.S.

P. H. Pye-Smith.

Fred. T. Roberts, M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.P.

Edgcombe Venning, F.R.C.S.

This manifesto, on its appearance, created dismay in the teetotal camp, and has perturbed it ever since. As a consequence, they are continually vilifying it, and incidentally circulate false statements as to its origin. They say, for example, that it was drawn up by a layman. This is false. The original draft was the work of a Bradford medical practitioner, and practically each one of the signatories took a hand in the correction of the draft. A more professional document, therefore, could not be imagined. Nor is it true that the original suggestion of the manifesto came from a layman. It came from one of the signatories.

It is also said that the draft was hawked round for doctors' signatures for a long period—some say six months. This again, is untrue. It was decided, in the first instance, to confine the signatures to twelve leading doctors of hospital rank, but this left out so many men whose position entitled them to sign that this number was a little exceeded; but no attempt was made to get a crowd. The whole business of drafting the document and sending it round to the signatories (fresh drafts each time that an alteration was made by one of the signatories) took about six weeks.

This manifesto is a striking confirmation of what Sir James Paget, F.R.C.S., F.R.S., had said some years earlier ("The Alcohol Question," p. 20):—

Sir James Paget. "My study makes me as sure as I would ever venture to be on any such question that there is not yet any evidence nearly sufficient to make it probable that a moderate habitual use of alcoholic drinks is generally or even to many persons injurious; and that there are sufficient reasons for believing that such an habitual use is on the whole and generally beneficial."

Mr. R. Brudenell Carter, F.R.C.S., wrote in the same book (p. 191):—

Mr. R. Brudenell Carter. "While I fully admit that there are many who can support vigorous life without alcohol, I nevertheless affirm, alike from my own experience and from that of others, that there are some, I do not pretend to say how many, to whom it is a necessity, if they are to exert the full measure of their powers."

One of the signatories of the *Lancet* manifesto, Sir James

Crichton-Browne, in proposing the toast of "Science" at the annual dinner of the Medico-Psychological Association, held at the Whitehall Rooms, London, on July 26th, 1907, said :—

"They had at that table many of the highest authorities in the country on the alcohol question. Medical superintendents of lunatic asylums saw much of the evil of alcohol, were strenuous advocates of temperance, and had supplied to the teetotallers some of the strongest arguments. He thought, therefore, it would be interesting to ascertain how far they adopted the extreme views on the alcohol question now being promulgated, and with the kind assistance of the manager he had had statistics prepared. There were at that table eighty-four members of the Association, and of them just 5 or 6 per cent. had declined alcohol altogether. All the rest—or 94 per cent.—had partaken of alcohol in some form, a large majority in several different forms. He dined a fortnight ago at the table of Sir Andrew Noble with eighteen of the leading men of science of the day, from the venerable Lord Kelvin downwards, and not one of them declined alcohol. These were facts, and in view of such facts it was a farce, or an obsession, or a gross hyperbole, to speak of alcohol as a deadly poison. Those who declared alcohol to be a deadly poison should also state that we constantly carry about in our bodies more deadly poisons or toxins. But these human poisons were harmless—nay, beneficial—as long as they were kept in their right places, and our great aim should be to keep alcohol its right place also."

Here are some further views of the same eminent physician :

"No other drug can satisfactorily take the place of alcohol, and the doctor who has laid it aside has in some measure crippled himself in his combat with disease. Mankind has come to know that alcohol does very often whet a failing appetite, spur on a dilatory stomach, sustain a flagging heart, check wasting of the body, invoke sleep, numb acute pain, and restore a sense of well-being when that has been lost."—*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, May 29th, 1906.

"I am not prepared to join the philanthropists in a hurry in deprecating the reasonable use of that which I regard as, under proper conditions, a wholesome food, a social cement, and a powerful alleviator of human suffering. . . . As far as I am able to judge, the balance of laboratory experiments of an unequivocal description is heavily in favour of folk-lore in this matter, and vindicates the claim of alcohol to be classed as a true aliment in health and an indispensable remedy in disease. . . . It is preposterous to designate a deadly poison an agent

so demonstrably benign in its effects when properly employed. . . . Those civilised races in which the consumption of alcohol per head has been largest have had the lowest death rate. Doubtless many factors have contributed to this, but alcohol must not be ignored."—Letter to *The Throne*, August 24th, 1907.

"The well-to-do classes, who get their regular meals and a palatable, well-cooked, and varied diet, can dispense with alcoholic beverages with little or no inconvenience, but poor people, who have to work hard, whose food is meagre, monotonous, unappetising, and badly prepared, are apt to lose energy and productive power if cut off from their customary potations. For those on a low level of nutrition alcohol of the right kind and in moderate doses is an easily assimilable food that helps to rapid recuperation. It quickly supplies heat and vigour, warms up the blood, as the common expression is, protects the nitrogenous tissues, and makes the subject capable of an effort superior to that which alimentation without alcohol would enable him to put forth. In special emergencies during the strain of overwork alcohol will for a time impart fresh vigour to a man and help him to surmount difficulties. Anyone who has witnessed the rolling of an armour plate would not grudge a glass of beer to the men who have been engaged in that cyclopean and sudoriferous task. A sense of deprivation or discontent is not likely to speed men up at their work."—Letter to *Morning Post*, April 13th, 1915.

"Even the most stalwart medical opponents of alcohol have had to invoke its help in the presence of disease. The late Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, whose earnest advocacy of total abstinence is well known, and who inherited the Trevelyan Cellar, used to prescribe alcohol for his patients. Dr. W. B. Carpenter, that great pillar of teetotalism whose prize essay did so much for the cause, told me when visiting me in the year 1873 that after long years of total abstinence he found as life advanced and infirmity set in that two glasses of sherry a day did him good, and enabled him to go on with his work. Mr. Ernest Hart, the instigator of the medical declaration against alcohol, I once saw swallow three ounces of brandy neat, which he had found, he said, to be the only remedy for attacks of bilious sick-headache from which he periodically suffered.

"The chief differences of view amongst medical men as to alcohol as a medicine have, I believe, reference to the frequency of the conditions in which it is required, and to the relative place which should be assigned to it in a certain class of medicinal agents. But it is interesting to note that almost every practitioner finds it to be of value in that particular

department of the healing art in which he is himself engaged. Even in special departments, where we should least expect to find it serviceable, its utility has been attested. Thus Dr. Gustav Braun, of Moscow, was at one time accustomed to lose no less than 45 per cent. of the eyes on which he operated for cataract in hospital, that is to say in badly nourished Russian peasants. At length, after trying many expedients, including the use of quinine and other tonics, he administered a dose of brandy or sherry to every patient immediately after operation, repeating it twice a day for two or three days. The result of this plan was, after a year's trial, to reduce the number of cases in which the eye was totally lost from 45 to 6 per cent., with an additional 3 per cent. of imperfect recoveries.—“What We Owe to Alcohol.”—*True Temperance Monograph* (pp. 46 and 47).

“None of the great masters of medicine and surgery in modern times, much less in ancient, have joined in the outcry against alcohol, or have despised its aid in the practice of their calling . . . Lord Lister, one of the greatest benefactors of his species, reared in the Society of Friends, ordered wine for his patients when he thought it needful, and took wine himself. He told me that in his later years he could not comfortably get through a dinner party without a little wine. Sir William Jenner, that accomplished clinician, although devoted to tea, of which he partook without detriment three or four times a day, also indulged in wine, and used it skilfully in his practice. Sir Andrew Clark, a medical philosopher inclined to stoicism and at one time denunciatory of alcohol, modified his views, and in his mature years sought refuge from some of the little worries of life in a glass of champagne with dinner. Sir William Broadbent, that sagacious practitioner, adhered to the old custom of taking a glass of port after dinner and used alcohol as an indispensable tool in his art” (*Ib.*, pp. 50 and 51).

Another of the signatories of the *Lancet* manifesto, Sir Dyce Duckworth, was of the same opinion six years later, when, in a lecture delivered before the **Sir Dyce Duckworth.** Medical Institute of Liverpool, on November 6th, 1913, on “Some Requirements for Modern Clinical Teaching” (reported in the *Lancet*, of November 22nd, 1913) he said:—

“I would illustrate the superiority of clinical acumen to laboratory research by a reference to the teaching of the physiologist in respect of the effects of alcohol as he observes them from proceeding to poison certain small animals with this agent. He declares it to be toxic in any degree for all the tissues of the body. As clinicians we have learned to

value it both as a food and a valuable therapeutic aid for certain conditions of disease. We claim no scientific authority for its use, but we are convinced of the benefits derived from it when appropriately employed. . . . I have yet to learn that any lesions specifically attributable to the use of alcoholic liquors have ever been noted in the necropsies of persons who have led temperate lives, and employed such articles in strict moderation."

Another signatory of the *Lancet* manifesto, Dr. W. E. Dixon, Lecturer in Pharmacology, Cambridge, has also confirmed his earlier statement. Speaking at the annual meeting of the

Dr. W. E. Dixon. True Temperance Association on July 1st, 1910, he said :—

" In America there is a Wesleyan University which provided funds for the investigation of the action of alcohol on a very extensive scale. A man was required to live in a special room or calorimeter about half the size of this raised platform for some two or three weeks. He took with him into this chamber whatever he would be likely to require for that time. He lived there on a fixed diet and everything concerning his metabolism was estimated ; exactly how much food he took in, his total intake and output, the gases which he passed off through his lungs, the heat lost from the body, were all carefully measured, and he was in a state in which the daily energy he obtained from his food was exactly equal to the daily energy lost, a condition we call nitrogenous equilibrium. His weight was therefore necessarily constant. If now a little of his food, something from his starch, sugar, or meat, were taken from his diet, he immediately lost weight ; but if this amount of food was replaced by alcohol in equivalent energy-producing amounts, everything went on exactly as before, and there was no loss of weight. So that we have these facts. First, that alcohol is oxidised completely in the body, and secondly, that it is oxidised in such a way that it can replace ordinary starch or sugar. The third fact to which I would draw attention is even more remarkable. If a piece of paper is burnt, the oxidation occurs very rapidly, much heat is evolved and most of the carbon goes off as carbonic acid gas. When a little sugar is burnt in our organism, we do not oxidise it in that way ; the burning, though of the same nature, is very slow, and the sugar passes through a number of changes into simpler and simpler bodies, the last one, as in the case of the paper, being carbon dioxide which passes out from our lungs. One of the stages in the oxidation through which that sugar passes normally in our body is alcohol. If a little sugar is added to some fresh living muscle juice the sugar ferments

just as if some yeast had been added to it. Now we do not have ferments in our muscles for no purpose, so we may safely conclude that alcohol is one of the products of normal metabolism in the body. . . . The conclusion then at which we have arrived and which is I believe the one approved by all pharmacologists is, that alcohol in moderation cannot be regarded as in any sense a poison, but it is on the contrary a food because it yields to the body useful energy."

Dr. Robert Park, in his book, "The Case for Alcohol," published in 1909, says :—

" The averment, therefore, that alcohol is a poison is only true relatively. It is not true of the stimulant dosage.

Dr. Robert Park. dosage. It is true of it as a narcotic, in narcotic dosage. But the same averment can be made of everything else, either in the outer

environment of which a man partakes, in any way, by lungs or stomach, or in the inner environment of which the general tissues partake for the needs of organic harmony. If we except trypsin and amylase, ferments only produced when they are needed, there is probably no glandular secretion, from ptyalin to adrenalin, which is not, even in minute doses of over-supply, a deadly poison. Notwithstanding that many ailments are due rather to an under than an over-production of them. So the objection to the use of alcohol because in over-dosage it is a poison, is not only futile, but stupid (pp. 21 and 22).

Dr. J. Starke, an eminent German physiologist, in his book, "Alcohol: The Sanction of its Use," says :—

" The alcohol of alcoholic drinks does not of itself possess the property of inducing persons to take ever-

Dr. J. Starke. increasing amounts. Furthermore, it is easy for any healthy person to restrict his use of alcohol within the bounds of moderation." (p. 9.)

Dr. Oakley, J.P., of Halifax, speaking at a meeting of the Halifax branch of the Church of England Temperance Society, on October 29th, 1910, as reported in the *Halifax Courier*, of October 31st, 1910, said that :—

An Abstainer's Encomium. " Though he was a life abstainer, he did not side with the extreme section. He did not believe that alcohol was a deadly poison which they could well do without. He could say from his fifty years' medical experience that alcohol was a wonderful dietetic, and he knew what valuable assistance alcohol could give to medical men. If every human being was born into the world perfectly healthy, lived perfectly healthy and cleanly lives, then the world could do without alcohol. There were

persons, however, who could live very much better with a modicum of it."

Dr. Max Herz in a paper dealing with " Luxuries as Remedies in Cardiac Diseases " (reported in *The Medical Press*, of September 21st, 1910) said :—

Alcohol and the Heart.

" Of all so-called luxuries, alcohol, above all, is indispensable at the bedside.

" Alcohol shows itself to be not only a momentary stimulant, but when the directions given are followed it acts for a longer period as a tonic. In this form it is an excellent vehicle for easily-digested foods.

" Very frequently alcohol will perform extraordinarily good service in the treatment of mental disturbance.

" As a hypnotic also in cardiac cases alcohol is to be preferred to many of the usual preparations.

" Luxuries may largely take on the part of curative agents. This is an advantage, especially in the case of cardiac diseases, when the latter can be replaced by the former. In this way the heaping up of medicines that is often so burdensome may be avoided, material is brought to the organism for which it has an instinctive inclination, the effects of which are better known than those of any medicine that can be continued for years without doing mischief, and which are of inestimable value so much the more for the sick than for the healthy individual, inasmuch as by them a gleam of sunshine of happiness, however pale it may be, is cast on to the sombre tints of everyday life."

Dr. F. M. Sandwith, M.D., F.R.C.P., Gresham Professor of Physics, in the course of a series of four Gresham Lectures delivered in May, 1912, said :—

" Alcohol has a temporary stimulating effect on the circulation, increasing the frequency of the heart beats, especially when taken in a concentrated form, and for this purpose it is an invaluable medicine in cases of shock, faintness, or heart failure, when the heart requires stimulating to increased action."

Dr. Charles A. Mercier, M.D., F.R.C.P., Lecturer on Insanity at the Charing Cross Hospital Medical School, in an inaugural address delivered before the Midland Medical Society on October 31st, 1912, and reported in the *Lancet*, of November 30th, 1912, said :—

" Alcohol has the power to unlock the store of energy that exists in the brain, and to render available, for immediate expenditure, energy that without its use would remain in store, unavailable for our immediate needs.

" In further corroboration of my thesis that the effect of moderate doses of alcohol is to stimulate the mental faculties of those who possess mental faculties, and stimulate those faculties which some think the highest, such as imagination, fancy, picturesque imagery—the artistic faculties as we may call them—I point to the fact that there has never been one distinguished originator in any branch of art who did not take alcohol, at least in moderation, and many have taken it, alas! in excess. It is the fact, indisputable if lamentable, that it is the great nations, the victorious nations, the progressive nations, the nations that are in the van of civilisation, that are the drinking nations. I don't say they are great because they drink, but I do say that this disposes of the argument that a drinking nation is necessarily a decadent nation.

" A world of total abstainers might be a decorous world, a virtuous world, a world perhaps a little too conscious of its own merits; but there is no reason to suppose that it would be an uncontentious or unprejudiced world, or a world from which exaggeration of statement, intemperance in speech, or intolerance of opinion would be banished; and there is some evidence to make us anxious lest it should be a drab, inartistic, undecorated world; a world without poetry, without music, without painting, without romance; utterly destitute of humour; taking sadly what pleasures it allowed itself."

In a letter to the *Times*, of April 10th, 1915, the same authority wrote:—

" A large proportion of our people of all classes not only never take too much, but also find the moderate amount they do take keeps them in better health, enables them to digest their food better, to sleep better, and to do more work than if they went without. There is no just comparison to be made between the effects of vodka or absinthe and the effects of sound beer or light wines. Unless he has some idiosyncrasy, a man who is engaged in strenuous and laborious muscular exertion is refreshed and re-invigorated, when fatigue begins, by a glass of beer, and is better able to continue his labour; and generally, the supreme value of a dose of alcohol in enabling a man in an emergency to get the last ounce of energy out of himself is too well established to be contested. Laboratory experiments, conducted under highly artificial conditions, and often with a determination to arrive at a foregone conclusion, are not trustworthy guides to practice under working conditions."

In his monograph "The Intemperance of Total Absti-

nence," published by the True Temperance Association in December, 1916, Dr. C. A. Mercier said :—

" The digestive value of alcohol is only one instance of its power of opening the store of energy and letting some out to be utilised. Let us take another illustration. Many people are familiar with the properties of champagne, and more, perhaps, with those of ginger beer and lemonade. Those who have studied the manners and customs of these beverages know that when first poured out, they effervesce freely, but after a time they go flat, and are much less palatable. But the fact that bubbles of gas no longer rise spontaneously does not mean that no gas is contained in them. All that would come out spontaneously is come and gone, but we can get more out if we add an appropriate liberator. Drop some powdered sugar into the glass and see what happens. Immediately a swarm of bubbles rises and breaks on the surface. Just in the same way, the energy that accumulates in our brain during the night spouts out and froths over when the cork of sleep is drawn ; but towards the end of the day the gas becomes spent and exhausted. The bubbles are few, and rise languidly. The liquor that was so brisk and sparkling is become flat and stale, and to extricate a new spurt of energy we must drop some sugar into the golden bowl. What we use for the purpose is, indeed, not plain sugar, but altered sugar—in fact, fermented sugar. We take a little alcohol, and in a few minutes the flat liquor begins to fizz again. The energy that was locked up is set free—the fatigue is no longer felt—body and mind are invigorated—the task that was insurmountable becomes easy.

" In some cases, to some persons, at some times, and in some quantities, alcohol is pernicious ; but I should not pride myself on my intelligence if on this account I was blind to its advantages in other cases. I think that food is good for everyone, in moderation, and when they are hungry, but I do not on this account say that it is good for a man to eat till he bursts ; nor do I say that because some people over-eat themselves, therefore no one ought to be allowed in any circumstances to touch food. There seems to me to be a want of logic somewhere in this reasoning, but my friends the teetotallers do not recognise these subtle distinctions

" There is plenty of evidence that alcohol has the power I ascribe to it of liberating our reserves of energy. One fact in its favour I have already adduced. It is only in very exceptional cases that alcohol is taken in the morning. It is not then needed, for then, after the recuperation of sleep, the outflow of energy is at its maximum and needs no reinforcement. It is when the exertions of the day have depleted

our store of energy that we find the liberating effect of alcohol is potent and so advantageous. It is customary for medical abstainers to issue invitations to medical men to attend a non-alcoholic feast at the annual meetings of the British Medical Association. This non-alcoholic banquet is for the encouragement and advocacy of the cult of total abstinence; and it is very significant that it always takes the form of a breakfast. It is held the first thing in the morning! The abstainers are wise in their own generation. We may presume that they recognise the stimulating effect of alcohol, and therefore arrange their non-alcoholic banquet at a time of day when the stimulus of alcohol is not needed and its absence is not felt. At this orgy of tea and coffee the speeches are not, as far as my recollection serves me, much more dull, nor is the audience much more bored, than they are at the dinner, which takes place in the evening, and at which alcohol is served; but what the funereal gloom of a teetotal public dinner would be, the Medical Temperance Association has wisely not attempted to test.

. . . “ Is it not clear that if alcohol has this power of enabling us to draw upon our reserve of energy, and to execute tasks that without it would be insurmountable, we have in it an agent that may be of the greatest possible service in grave emergencies? And although it is open to abuse—as what useful agent is not?—yet upon occasion it is most valuable and precious; and it is foolish to revile and discard it because a few use it excessively and injuriously. But if alcohol does act in the way I describe, and does enable us to draw upon our reserves, then will it not leave the nervous system more depleted of energy, more emptied of its proper store, more exhausted, than if we had not taken it? Undoubtedly it will; and therefore after taking it we shall need more rest and more sleep to replenish our reserves and re-stock our store of energy. But in this matter alcohol provides its own remedy, for whatever its vices and dangers, no one can deny that a sufficient dose of alcohol is a most effective soporific. In states of exhaustion it is the most effectual and the best soporific we possess.”

Sir Thomas Clouston, M.D., LL.D., in delivering the fifth Norman Kerr Memorial Lecture, at Edinburgh, in November, 1913, said:—

Alcohol and Great Men. “ In tackling the psychology of alcohol, one of the first questions that occurred to a medico-psychologist was a historical one—what had been the effect of alcohol on the brains, mind, and conduct of the men who in their lives had exhibited the supreme qualities of human nature? Though this

particular point had not come out in all the biographies of such men, profuse as had been the details related in their lives, yet they knew enough to form reasonably correct conclusions in the case of some of them. Taking Alexander the Great, Socrates, Moses, Solon, Julius Cæsar, St. Paul, Mahomet, Francis Bacon, Shakespeare, Goethe, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Darwin—those men being of different races, living in different ages of the world, all strongly influencing its history, and certainly representing the best that evolution had been able to do for men. Alcohol was known to all of them, and was in common use in their times. None of them except Mahomet abstained from its use, and none but he laid down any definite rules against it."

The extent to which alcoholic liquors may help to resist disease is illustrated in the following extracts from a letter

written by Dr. H. Lyon-Smith to the *Lancet*,
of October 10th, 1914:—

Alcohol as a Pro-phylactic. "One of the arguments against the use of alcohol even medicinally, often quoted by scientific temperance lecturers, is the statement that alcohol inhibits phagocytosis, thereby impairing the first line of defence against the infections. I have never discovered the experimental evidence upon which this statement is made, and about five years ago I did some research work on my own account, to ascertain its accuracy or otherwise. . . . The experiments, so far as they went, showed clearly that large doses of alcohol (*e.g.*, the equivalent of 10 oz. for an adult of 10 st.) destroyed the phagocytic action of the blood upon all the common pathogenic bacteria used in my experiments (*pneumococci*, *B. coli*, *streptococci*, and *B. influenzae*), but that moderate doses (2 oz.) distinctly increased phagocytic action against these organisms. This confirmed conclusions which I had come to in clinical observations spread over twenty years of active practice, and I have met many able practitioners who have agreed with me on this point. . . . Many apparently healthy people are unwittingly carriers of pathogenic bacteria, such as various types of influenza bacilli, *pneumococci*, the large family of *streptococci*, and the *B. coli* group. These only need some depressing factor in the shape of danger, hunger, damp, and cold to lose their normal resistance to the germs, and fall an easy prey to acute infections which may assume the form of influenzal fever, rheumatism, pneumonia, bronchitis, or septicaemia. When numbers are herded together severe epidemics may easily arise from such a focus, and a virus which has suddenly taken on a greater degree of virulence spreads very rapidly. I have not the slightest doubt that in the first stages of most

of this group of cases moderate doses of alcohol are valuable in aiding the natural resistance of blood and tissues." . . .

Sir Frederick Treves is frequently quoted by the teetotallers as a supporter of total abstinence, but his name appeared at the bottom of the following bulletin, in which it was admitted that stimulants were necessary to restore His Majesty the King to health after his accident in France :—

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,

December 13th, 1915.

" We are happy to report that the King has so far recovered from the grave accident of October 28th as to be able to resume work with certain limitations.

" The King has lost seriously in weight, and until a normal state of health is attained it is essential that His Majesty should avoid any cause of fatigue.

" It has been necessary on medical grounds that the King should take a little stimulant daily during his convalescence.

" As soon as the King's health is quite restored, His Majesty will resume that total abstinence which he has imposed upon himself for public reasons.

" FREDERICK TREVES.

" BERTRAND DAWSON."

THE ARMY AND NAVY RUM RATION.

The announcement in the early days of the war that a large quantity of rum had been sent to France for the use of the troops gave rise to an acute controversy. The teetotallers made a great outcry and exerted themselves to the utmost in an endeavour to induce the authorities to deprive the soldiers of this valuable and comforting stimulant. The soldiers themselves were highly and rightly indignant at this attempt to deprive them of their rum, and many extracts from letters in which they testified to the benefits of the food-stimulant appeared in the press. One or two teetotal doctors took the matter up from their point of view in the medical press, and they were effectively answered by their more rational professional brethren, as the following extracts from letters will show :—

Dr. Josiah Oldfield, in the *British Medical Journal*, of February 27th, 1915, wrote :—

" The question of giving a small dose of rum to men who are exposed to extreme wet and cold in the trenches is not to

be answered by the accuracy of rifle shooting tests under entirely different conditions. If a man is shivering with cold his shooting will be so bad that any stimulant which causes skin warmth will improve his shooting, in spite of all charts and curves that are drawn up to the contrary under different conditions.

"One of the great dangers of an extreme chill is to stop skin action, and to throw such a burden upon the other great excretory organs that serious organic mischief results. A dose of rum (in hot milk by preference) tends to set up skin action, and therefore under suitable conditions may rightly be recommended by the Army medical authorities."

Dr. E. Musgrave Woodman, writing in the *British Medical Journal*, of March 6th, 1915, mentioned that he had spent six months as an officer of the R.A.M.C. in France, and went on to say :—

"In the firing line there is no substitute for alcohol. It may be given or withheld, but there is nothing else. . . . I would recall the words of the Earl of Albemarle on Waterloo: 'Just before it began the regiment filed past a big tubful of gin, and each officer and man had a potful of liquor given to him. Heavy rain had soaked the troops to the skin, and no fermented liquor I have ever drunk was so delicious as that tin pot full of schnapps.' But they won Waterloo!"

Dr. C. A. Mercier, in the *British Medical Journal*, of March 13th, 1915, wrote :—

"I am permitted to quote from the letter of a Captain, R.A.M.C., who has been good enough to tell me his experience. 'I am practically a teetotaller,' he says, 'and I loathe rum, and yet on one occasion I was just done to the world on the Mons retreat, but a tot of rum carried me on to my destination (doubtless all its dreadful effects came on afterwards, *but it got me to my destination*).'. . . . This saving grace of alcohol does not seem to be recognised, and is certainly not sufficiently appreciated."

Dr. Rawdon Wood, M.D., D.P.H., etc., in the *British Medical Journal*, of March 13th, 1915, wrote :—

"There is direct evidence to show that under the existing conditions of trench warfare in winter the rum ration is beneficial, and a great comfort to those who receive it, even if it does have its disadvantages."

Major McAdam Eccles, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, speaking at a meeting of the Royal Courts of Justice and Legal Temperance Societies, said :—

"Some people were exceedingly angry because the rum

ration was allowed, and talked and wrote utter nonsense on the subject. He should like some of them to go into the trenches. Then they would find that the rum ration was an absolute necessity, because nothing else could be got to take its place." (*Daily Telegraph*, March 17th, 1915.)

" Considerable commotion was caused among prohibitionists when, at a meeting in support of prohibition during the war and demobilisation, held last evening at Egham, General Sir Edward Hutton, who presided, said he favoured rum rations for our soldiers.

" There was much booing, but the general declared that the objectors did not understand what it meant to go through six campaigns as he had done and to march all night on an empty stomach." (*Nottingham Evening Post*, March 28th, 1917.)

OPINIONS OF TRAINERS AND ATHLETES.

Teetotalers have declared that athletes, while in training, invariably abstain from alcoholic beverages. Mr. H. B. R. Clarke, of Radlett, Herts, a member of the True Temperance Association, had reason to doubt the truth of this assumption, and made some inquiries which have produced conclusive evidence that the vast majority of trainers and athletes not only do not abstain, but actually regard alcoholic beverages as a valuable aid in training. The following are a few of the expert opinions collected by this gentleman :—

Harry Andrews, one of England's greatest trainers, who was considered a first-class all-round athlete in his day, writes : " I have always found beer beneficial to a man when training if taken in moderation. Three half pints a day is what I recommend to all men whom I train ; should I find a man a bit stale I order him an extra half-pint at lunch time, and ease him in his work for two or three days. The following are a few of the men I have trained and who took beer—W. G. George, Montague Holbein, W. Howes, G. Larner, G. Cummings, W. Griffin, T. Davis, F. Shorland, J. W. Morton, A. L. Read, E. Hale, and H. Hutchins. They are all mixed record breakers and champions. I should say 90 per cent. take beer."

Professor Arthur Dale, Instructor to H.M. Forces and to members of the Royal Family, trainer of many winners of the officers' and non-commissioned officers' middle, light, and heavy-weight boxing competitions, writes : " During training I always used to allow my men a pint of beer or wine a day according to what they desired—in fact, in my own training

experience I always drank beer or wine. For instance, in one case I left off for six weeks, and it so thoroughly injured my constitution that I had to fall back to champagne to get ready for my match, so you see what alcohol can do. My candid opinion is this—to allow men stimulants is the finest thing a trainer can do."

Alfred A. Shrubb, the world's greatest pedestrian and holder of the world's championships from one to twelve miles, says in his book on "Running and Cross-country running," page 7: "In the face of the teetotallers I have recommended an occasional glass of old ale, and I am firmly of the impression that the athlete who indulges in an occasional glass of this will, other things being equal, derive greater benefits thereby than the man who preserves and adheres to rigid teetotalism."

J. W. Morton, four years (1904-5-6-7) sprint champion, and Canadian champion (1905), writes:—

"With regard to the use of beer whilst training, I may say that during my training, which extended over several years, I always drank at least three half pints of beer (a day), and my experience was that I greatly benefited by doing so. The idea that all athletes totally abstain whilst training is really funny. I can assure you that a great majority, I should think about 90 per cent., partake of alcoholic beverages, and to find a teetotaller in the front rank of athletes is a rare thing."

Thos. E. Hammond, the famous Stock Exchange walker and long-distance walking champion, holder of London to Brighton walking record, writes: "The best answer I can give you is that not only during the whole of my training for various contests, but during the whole of my life, my chief beverage has been beer."

Harry Vardon, open golf champion, 1896-8-9, 1903-11, American champion, 1900, German champion, 1911, writes: "Well, I must confess I do like to have my glass of beer even when training, and I am quite sure it does me good. Of course, you have to take all these things in moderation always, but I don't think I could play on teetotal drink at all."

Ernest Barry, the world's champion sculler, writes: "It is all according who the man is, and what he has been used to. I, myself, being of the greyhound type, found beer a necessity whilst training. I tried the teetotal business once and could not stay, so I fell back on my stout. I have as much as one and a half pints for mid-day and one pint at night for supper, and if I feel run down I double the dose."

W. H. Hedges, Midland amateur heavy-weight champion boxer, writes: "In my opinion, alcohol, taken in strict

moderation of course, is beneficial rather than otherwise to anyone training for the more strenuous branches of athletics. It entirely depends upon the individual, but it necessarily follows that when a man begins to work harder he needs more nourishment, and therefore, if he is accustomed to taking alcohol, he should continue to do so."

Alec Nelson, holder of 1,000 yards record, coach to A.A.A. and British Olympic team, trainer to Cambridge University and Royal Fusiliers, writes :—

" I am a great believer in the use of beer whilst training. My twenty years' experience teaches me that it is the one beverage that is always ordered track athletes in moderation, say, one to three half-pints daily."

Arthur A. Chase, champion long distance cyclist and holder of numerous records, indulges in both beer and tobacco while training, and has " never found any detrimental effects."

It is also of interest to note that the Oxford crew who put up such a splendid fight in 1913, and won at the post, had a pint of India pale ale prescribed as part of their daily training diet.

Captain Webb during his great swim took alcohol on nine occasions (beer and brandy), as shown by the log of the lugger which accompanied him.

SHOOTING AND ALCOHOL.

It is often alleged by teetotallers that the consumption of alcoholic beverages adversely affects shooting. To test this allegation the True Temperance Association, in 1915, instituted some shooting experiments at miniature rifle ranges. Thirty-one persons made the experiments, which consisted of firing twelve shots three times on two days. The first day's experiments were undertaken when the person shooting was in a normal condition in the matter of health and habits ; the second day's experiments when he was tired and hungry. On each day the first twelve shots were fired before any alcoholic liquor had been drunk that day ; the second twelve shots immediately after drinking a measured quantity, and the third half an hour later.

The first day's experiments showed that in all but seven cases the shooting improved immediately after drinking, and in all but six cases some measure of the improvement was maintained half an hour afterwards.

The second day's experiment showed that in all but eleven cases the shooting improved immediately after drinking, and also in all but eleven cases some measure of the improvement was maintained half an hour afterwards.

VII.—DRINK, DISEASE AND LONGEVITY.

Of late years attempts have been made to prove that almost all diseases are either caused, or aggravated, by indulgence in fermented liquors. Attention has been more particularly directed to insanity and consumption as diseases directly or indirectly caused or aggravated by drinking. The great fallacy underlying this attempt to frighten the public into total abstinence is the confusion of association with causation. The argument used runs as follows :—Mr. A. is a lunatic or consumptive, and Mr. A. has also been known to partake of alcoholic liquors—whether in moderation or excess is immaterial to the teetotal argument—therefore, alcohol is the cause of the disease. But it would, of course, be just as logical to argue that Mr. A.'s partiality for any other article of general consumption was the cause of his trouble.

INSANITY AND MENTAL DEFECTS.

The most recent and the most reliable researches go to show that intemperance is actually the result of mental defect,

Professor Karl Pearson and not the cause, as the teetotallers would have us believe. Professor Karl Pearson with his assistants at the Galton Research

Laboratory has gone very fully into this matter, and the conclusions arrived at have knocked the bottom out of the teetotal indictment of alcohol. The following extract from a Memoir by Professor Karl Pearson and Miss E. M. Elderton (Galton Research scholar), in answer to teetotal criticisms of the conclusions arrived at as the result of an investigation into " Parental Alcoholism and its Effects on the Offspring," indicate the line of reasoning :—

" Taking the extreme case of alcoholism, cases where at least we have certainty of its evil effects on the individual—which is far more than we can assert of its customary and moderate use—we find alcoholism associated in the individual with mental defect. This association has been everywhere interpreted by the advocates of temperance as causation. They have never investigated whether the mental defect was antecedent to or consequent on the alcoholism, or how far it was partly one or partly the other. The family histories collected during some years in the Galton Laboratory, as well

as masses of other data, seemed to indicate definitely that extreme alcoholism was only consequent on the pre-existing degeneracy of the stock. It was not in itself an antecedent to such defectiveness. The arguments produced by medical temperance writers to show that alcoholism was the source of defectiveness in the offspring were found to be based on selected families, and internal evidence in the data given satisfied us that these families were actually degenerate stocks. To those who have studied the heredity of physical and mental defects, and noted the frequent appearance of alcoholism in such stocks, it must appear the height of absurdity to attribute deaf-mutism, dwarfism, and physical deformity to parental alcoholism. And yet it is impossible to trace a long pedigree of deaf-mutism, or of split hand and foot, without coming across many associated cases of alcoholism. It is precisely the same in the matter of albinism; it is quite easy to pick out pedigrees closely associated with imbecility and extreme alcoholism. If extreme alcoholism therefore be, as we believe from our data, a consequent and not an antecedent of defectiveness, then of what service for eugenic purposes can be a campaign which confuses all grades of alcohol users, and which would not reach the root of the matter, if it succeeded in cutting off entirely all opportunities for the procuring of alcohol?"

In "A Preliminary Study of Extreme Alcoholism in Adults," by Amy Barrington, Professor Karl Pearson, and Dr. D. Heron, the following is the conclusion arrived at:—

"There is a sensible relation between alcoholism and poor education, and alcoholism and mental defect. We consider it probable that the alcoholism is not due to poor education, nor is it to any marked extent productive of the mental defect, but the want of will-power and self-control associated with mental defectiveness is itself the antecedent of the poor education and of the alcoholism."

A second memoir on "Extreme Alcoholism in Adults" was issued from the Galton Research Laboratory in 1912. It is the work of Dr. Heron, and deals mainly with the data collected by Dr. Branthwaite, the Inspector under the Inebriates Acts. As 166 male and 865 female inebriates were admitted to reformatories between January 1st, 1907, and December 31st, 1909, there would appear to be ample data to arrive at some definite conclusions.

"In dealing with the condition of the inebriates on admission to the reformatories, the one fact which dominates all others is the very high proportion of mental defect among the inebriates; two-thirds of the women are mentally defective when judged in the reformatories out of reach of

alcohol. Further, a large proportion of the women begin to drink practically at the earliest age at which they can obtain access to alcohol, and the amount of mental defect among those who have been drinking for many years is only slightly greater than that among those who are at the beginning of their alcoholic careers. There is a close relationship between the intensity of alcoholism and the mental condition of the inebriates, but no relationship with their physical condition. All this lends support to the view that the mental defect of the inebriate is not a gradual growth ; it is born, not bred ; that 'inebriety is more an incident in the life of the inebriate than the cause of his mental defect.' "

The investigation of the physical condition and the comparative death rate of inebriates does not bear out an assumption that a large amount of disease is the result of alcoholic indulgence. Dr. Heron found that 77 per cent. of the inebriates forming the subject of his investigation were free from definite organic disease ; while Dr. Branthwaite, when dealing with this subject in his report, says definitely that "there is insufficient evidence to show that excessive indulgence in alcohol *per se* produces the amount of permanent injury to health that is attributed to it, or might reasonably be expected from it." If that is the case with regard to excessive indulgence, what possible justification can there be for saying that moderate drinking is injurious to health ?

Again, Dr. J. F. Gemmel, Medical Superintendent of the Lancashire (Whittingham) County Asylum, in his annual report (reprinted in the *Yorkshire Daily Intemperance Observer*, of September 28th, 1911) says :—
the effect of Insanity. "I have frequently alluded to drink as an alleged cause of insanity. My experience

goes to show that in many cases it is the effect and not the cause of insanity, the intemperance being but a prodromus of commencing, if not actually existing, insanity. Inquiry into the history of those who prior to the committal of a crime or an attack of insanity have been drinking, frequently shows that in many instances there is an inherited unstable nervous organisation which has a low resistive power to alcohol. It would be unfair to consider these criminals or degenerates as deliberate drunkards, and to assert that their insanity is due to drink."

Dr. Bernard Hollander, dealing with the same subject in a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* on October 2nd, 1911, wrote :—

"The Lunacy Commissioners' Reports of recent years support the view that, while undoubtedly inebriety is a common factor in insanity, it is in the majority of cases not

so much the cause of mental breakdown as the effect of an already unstable nervous system. The true cause is defective heredity, which provides the subject with a constitution which is particularly susceptible to the influence of such poisons as alcohol and induces the subject to crave for a particular mental state—not for alcohol, but for the state that alcohol most conveniently produces.

"That drink is not so much a cause of insanity as is commonly assumed is evident from the fact that insanity is on the increase and drinking is not."

In the *Outlook*, of September 24th, 1915, Dr. Hollander wrote :—

"Before a man takes to drink as a vice he has a taste for it, a predisposition which grows out of some physical defect, constitutional in the first instance, but liable to be aggravated by poor food, unwholesome surroundings, bodily wear and tear, and loss of moral tone. It is in the man with an unstable brain and nervous system, either inherited or acquired, and in the weak-minded person that the habit of drinking creates a morbid desire for more drink."

Dr. Wilhelm Stocker, of Jena, Germany, who is recognized as one of the foremost authorities on alcoholic psychoses, in a book dealing with various phases of the question, published in 1910, states that :—

"In the majority of my cases the question is not, however, of simply psychically subnormal personalities, but of sick individuals in whom a definite basic, and further-to-be-diagnosed, illness could be traced. Thus the chronic alcoholism in their cases is to be regarded in the first instance as a symptom of a definite mental ailment."

Taking eighty-nine individual cases of extreme alcoholism Dr. Stocker found that in thirty-four cases the alcoholism was due to epilepsy, in twenty-seven cases to melancholic mania, in fourteen cases to dementia præcox, in nine cases to other psychoses, leaving only five cases in which the excessive alcoholism could not be traced to some definite mental defect. Thus in the eighty-nine cases of alcoholic insanity there were less than five per cent. that could not be shown to be due to peculiar physical and mental conditions, of which the abuse of alcohol was merely a symptom, and not the cause. (Quoted in *North American Review*, April, 1918).

Similar testimony is furnished by Dr. Irwin H. Neff, Superintendent of the Massachusetts State Hospital for Inebriates. In an address before the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, at the 1915 meeting at Baltimore, Dr. Neff said :—

"Inebriety is an expression of nervous weakness, the nervous

weakness being inherited, a psycho-neurotic fault; founded on this weakness, manifestly a defect, is a habit we call drunkenness." (Quoted in *North American Review*, April, 1918.)

Dr. F. W. Mott, pathologist to the London County Council Asylums, and physician to Charing Cross Hospital, speaking on the subject of "Alcohol and Insanity" at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study

Dr. Mott. of Inebriety, on April 11th, 1911 (see *British Medical Journal*, June 10th, 1911, said:—

"There could be no doubt that neurasthenics, hysterics, epileptics, imbeciles, degenerates, eccentrics, and potential lunatics—all those, indeed, with an inherent narrow margin of highest control—were markedly intolerant of the effects of alcohol, and the failure to discriminate between what was the *result* of alcoholism and what was innate and *due to inheritance* had been the cause of much confusion."

"In connection with the problem of causal relationship of alcoholism and certifiable insanity, it was of interest to

Most Insanity where least Intemperance. note that Drs. Sullivan, Bevan Lewis, and Macdonald had shown a regional dissociation between alcohol and insanity. Thus, inland and agricultural communities had the least inebriate, but highest ratio of pauperism and insanity. Maritime, mining, and manufacturing communities above all others were the most intemperate, but revealed a lower ratio of pauperism and insanity. Dr. Sullivan, by careful analysis and tables, had shown that in the regional distribution of insanity it was difficult to trace any evidence of alcoholic influence, such as might be expected if alcoholism really accounted for one-sixth of the total number of cases. Thus Lancashire, Warwickshire and Cheshire, which ranked very high in the scale of alcoholism, and the mining counties, where drunkenness was rife, were alike in showing comparatively very low rates of insanity. Sullivan concluded that alcohol as a cause of certifiable insanity fell a good deal short of 16 per cent., at which it was rated in the official statistics, and might be something under 10 per cent."

The falsity of the assertion that alcohol is the most fruitful cause of insanity has been still further demonstrated in the sixty-first report (for 1911) of the Inspectors of Lunatics (Ireland) which says:—"Perhaps no causal factor has been more discussed than alcoholism, and it is now generally agreed that its influence has often been exaggerated . . . There is practically no relationship between the distribution of insanity and that of drunkenness in this country. . . .

The general conclusion which may be safely drawn from the facts is that alcohol possesses comparatively small importance as a cause of insanity in Ireland."

The Commissioners in Lunacy for England and Wales, in their sixty-seventh annual report (1913), dealt at some length with the causation of insanity and made the following reference to alcohol :—

"The fact that personal addiction to alcohol appears from these returns to have been regarded as a factor in 26.3 per cent. of male and 10.4 per cent. of female cases of first attacks of insanity ought not, perhaps, to be too literally interpreted. Such a return implies that in these proportions these insane persons were admittedly intemperate; and the estimate requires to be controlled by an analogous census of the same class of individuals who do not become insane; and also to allow for cases where inebriety is as much a consequence as a cause of mental deficiency. Obviously no such means of comparison exist, and in our fifty-ninth report we had occasion to point out the singular (and *prima facie* paradoxical) fact that in certain counties notorious for their high proportion of crimes due to drunkenness, the insanity rate was comparatively low, although the proportion of cases in which alcoholic excess was noted was higher than in other counties."

It should be noted that the foregoing citations all refer to the immoderate use of alcoholic liquors, and by implication ridicule the suggestion that moderate drinking leads to insanity. In any controversy with teetotallers it is necessary to insist upon a recognition of the distinction between moderation and excess, because most of their arguments are based on the assumption that every drinker drinks to excess, whereas the drunkards form but an infinitesimal proportion of the consumers of alcoholic liquors.

The Inspector under the Inebriates Act (Dr. Branthwaite) in his report for 1911 estimated the strictly moderate drinkers at 980 per 1,000 of all alcohol users: the "occasional drunkards" at 17.5 per 1,000; and "inebriates" or habitual drunkards at only 2.5 per 1,000.

American experience is to the same effect. Dealing with the alleged connexion between drink and insanity, a writer in the *North American Review*, for April, 1918, Mr. Whidden Graham, writes: "The latest figures on this subject, taken from the Census Reports for 1910, disprove this theory. They show, for instance that wet Indiana had fewer alcoholic insane than dry Kansas. Wet Nebraska had the lowest rate in the Union. Dry Oklahoma had the highest rate, with the

two exceptions of Colorado and Nevada. Maine, which has had prohibition longest, shows a higher rate than even wet States. . . .

" Still stronger proof of the failure of prohibition to diminish insanity is found in a comparison of the number of insane persons in Maine and Kansas, the two banner prohibition States, at different periods. In 1890 Maine had 92.6 insane per 100,000 population. In 1903 the percentage had increased to 125.3 per 100,000. In 1910 the percentage was 169.5, an increase in twenty years of 83 per cent.

" The insanity rate in Kansas increased from 88.4 in 1890 to 165.6 in 1903, and to 172.2 in 1910, an increase of 94 per cent. These two States had prohibitory laws during the twenty-year period referred to, and yet coincident therewith was this very great increase in the number of the insane. Applying the logic of the prohibitionists, who say that the higher rate of insanity in certain licence States is due to liquor drinking, the marked increase of insanity in Maine and Kansas must likewise have been due to prohibition. That policy was in force in those States for twenty years. The rate of insanity increased more than 80 per cent. in Maine, and more than 90 per cent. in Kansas. Therefore: prohibition is the cause of insanity !

" In reply to this showing of the increase in insanity under prohibition, it may be answered that there has also been a marked increase in the number of insane in licence States. True, but if liquor drinking is, as alleged, the principal cause of insanity, the rate of increase would always be much greater in the States where the sale of liquor is permitted. That this is not the case the following instances will show: In 1890 the number of insane per 100,000 population in California, always a wet State, was 272.2. In 1910 the percentage was 279.8, an increase of only 2.7 per cent. In wet Rhode Island the percentage of insane in 1890 was 191 per 100,000. In 1910 the percentage had increased to 229.1, an increase of only 16.6 per cent. Oregon, another licence State, during the entire period 1890-1910, had in the former year 176.6 insane persons per 100,000. In 1910 the percentage was 232.6, an increase of 32 per cent. This comparatively small increase of insanity in licence States, as contrasted with the much greater increase in prohibition States, proves beyond question that the use of alcohol is not the chief factor in causing insanity."

CONSUMPTION.

With regard to the alleged connection between alcohol and consumption and other diseases, the following points should be noticed :—

Though both may be associated in one individual, there is no more proof that consumption is the result of intemperance (still less of moderate drinking) than there is of the proposition that intemperance is the result of consumption.

There is no evidence whatever to show that there is more danger of infection in the bar of a public-house than in, say, a tea shop, or any other public place. It resolves itself into a question of cleanliness, and there is no reason why a public-house should not be as clean as a tea shop.

The special restrictions to which an invalid has to submit have nothing whatever to do with the normal habits of normal men and women. A beef steak would probably be fatal to a person suffering from typhoid fever, while sugar administered to a victim of diabetes would produce the same result ; but that is no reason why a healthy individual should abjure beef steaks or sugar ; and the same argument applies to alcoholic liquors in their relation to consumption.

The following extract from the Eugenics Laboratory Memoir on the influence of parental alcoholism on the physique and ability of the offspring is interesting : “ The general health of the children of alcoholic parents appears, on the whole, slightly better than that of sober parents. There are fewer delicate children, and in a most marked way cases of tuberculosis and epilepsy are less frequent than among children of sober parents.” Miss E. M. Elderton (Galton Research scholar) and Professor Karl Pearson, F.R.S., are the joint authors of this memoir, and their conclusions are based on scientific data and not on unsupported prejudices like those of many of the medical teetotallers.

The examination of the data furnished by the Inebriate Reformatories also fails to establish any relationship between alcohol and consumption and cancer. In the second memoir on “ Extreme Alcoholism in Adults,” previously referred to, Dr. Heron shows that among the women under observation in the Inebriate Reformatories the expected deaths from cancer number 14.9, and those from phthisis (consumption) 34.1, whereas the actual deaths were ten from cancer and six from phthisis. And he goes on to say : “ What weight must be given to these results ? As they stand, they show that the death-rate from all causes among inebriates while

under sentence is only half that of the total female population of England and Wales and is less than a fourth of the death-rate of the class from which they are drawn, if the assumptions made in arriving at the death-rate among this class be accepted; the death-rate among inebriates from cancer is slightly less, and from phthisis is decidedly less in this class. The lower death-rate from phthisis is possibly due, to some extent at least, to selection before admission and close medical supervision after admission to the reformatories. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Imperial German Bureau of Statistics recently came to the conclusion that the alcoholic as a class suffer less from tuberculosis than the non-alcoholic."

Professor Karl Pearson, in a pamphlet entitled "The Fight against Tuberculosis and the Death-rate from Phthisis," has also called attention to the data collected by the Imperial German Bureau of Statistics, with regard to which he writes: "The data are provided by the Leipzig 'Krankenkasse,' and the alcoholic are those upon whose sickness card the doctor had written 'P' (= *potator* or Trinker), 'Chronische Trunksucht,' 'Delirium tremens,' or 'Säuferwahnsinn'; the distinction is thus between immoderate drinkers and the remainder. For 1,000 observed persons tuberculosis of all kinds occurred in the following proportions for three age groups:—

Tuberculosis.	Ages.					
	15—34		35—54		55—74	
	Alcoh.	Non-Alcoh.	Alcoh.	Non-Alcoh.	Alcoh.	Non-Alcoh.
Cases of Sickness ..	4.2	6.7	7.4	10.2	9.4	10.0
Days of Sickness ..	259	529	408	858	644	824
Deaths ..	1.39	1.90	1.34	3.32	4.72	3.92

"The official report recognises that with tuberculosis the sickness and mortality results are more favourable to the alcoholists than to the total population. The explanation given is, of course, not that alcohol protects the consumer from the tubercle bacillus, but that the men of better physique are those who take more readily to alcohol."

Dr. Herbert Rhodes, who has made it his business to try to prove a close relationship between the consumption of

alcohol and tuberculosis, was compelled to admit in the *British Journal of Inebriety*, for January, 1913, that he had taken the views of a number of sanatorium physicians regarding the use of alcohol in phthisis (consumption), and that he found a general agreement that small doses are beneficial as a sedative or an appetiser at meals.

Dr. Jane Walker said at a meeting of the Society for the Study of Inebriety, on October 8th 1912, "that some severe cases of tuberculosis (consumption) had actually benefited from the fact that the body was saturated with alcohol. What ruined the kidneys sometimes saved the lungs." (*Liverpool Daily Post*, October 9th, 1912.)

"Dr. Stiles, of Edinburgh, confessed to the members of the Clinical Society at Newcastle that he was brought up on beer. He had never drunk a glass of milk until he went to Scotland, and then he realised why there was more tuberculosis in Scotland than anywhere else." (*Daily Express*, February 16th, 1912.)

The *Alliance News* of January 8th, 1914, reprinted some "Impressions of the International Temperance Congress at Milan," by Theodore Neild, M.A. Mr. Neild refers to researches conducted by Professor Henschen and Dr. Holitscher with regard to the part played by alcohol in provoking tuberculosis. The former "stated that out of 1,249 cases of tuberculous men and women to be found in Swedish sanatoria, hospitals, and workhouses, 84.3 per cent. were practically abstainers." Dr. Holitscher undertook an inquiry to test the validity of the professor's figures, and "was surprised to find that he got results not very different from Professor Henschen's, for 82 per cent. of these tuberculous persons could be classed as abstainers or moderates."

CANCER.

Dr. F. W. Forbes Ross, M.D., Edin., F.R.C.S. Eng., D.P.H. Lond., late Civil Surgeon to His Majesty's Guards' Hospital, in his recent book on "Cancer, the Problem of its Genesis and Treatment," maintains that cancer is produced by absence of potassium salts from food, and he writes:—

"The increase of cancer has kept steady pace with food 'refinement,' and is going up on account of the prevalence of spirit consumption as opposed to the drinking of the potassium-carrying malt liquors (beer, etc.) and natural wines."

APPENDICITIS AND TEETOTALISM.

The following is a translation which appeared in *The Medical Times* of November 8th, 1913, of an article by Dr. Gagey, which was first published in *La Presse Medicale*, of Paris :—

" My attention having been aroused, some years ago, by a great number of cases of appendicitis in the same family, I naturally sought for a common cause, and I was struck by the fact that all the sufferers were habitual water-drinkers. There were five brothers and sisters, married, with children, and I noted, not living together. Now, out of a total of sixteen persons six were operated upon for appendicitis in four years ; these six who were operated upon, and these six only, were teetotallers. As they were together in the same house about once in the year the idea of contagion was possible. I had gathered information about the purity of the drinking water ; this water had been analysed and found to be wholesome, and a particularly striking fact—the greater part of the family drank only mineral waters. Besides, there was no coincidence of date between the visits to the house and the attacks of appendicitis.

" I then sought among my patients to see if cases of chronic appendicitis were encountered generally among teetotallers, and I was struck by the considerable number which I found. Here are some which are quite typical : In one family of four persons, the father and son drank wine, the mother and daughter water ; both the latter were operated upon for appendicitis. I may note in passing a point I shall return to, that the mother drinks only hot effusions, consequently boiled water. In another family of six persons four drank water, and all four have appendicitis. In a third family of four persons one sees two of them operated upon in the same conditions. I can cite other cases. One must admit that there is here a singular coincidence.

" Much interested by these facts, which I reported to him, my master, M. Perier, advised me to ask M. Jalaguier, who sees so much of appendicitis, for some statistics. I made the same request of his assistant, my friend M. Victor Veau. Both of them very kindly lent themselves to the task. They declared to me that cases of appendicitis were fairly frequent among those who drink only water, but that they saw at least as many cases among those who drink wine. I then addressed myself to some of my colleagues in the provinces, who, like myself, do not see only a sick person isolated from his former surroundings, but know

well the habits of their patients; they were struck also by the considerable number of teetotallers attacked by appendicitis. It seems to me on reflection that this apparent contradiction has an explanation. I do not at all believe that only abstainers from fermented beverages are capable of having appendicitis. I only say they are more subject than others. If one takes 100 isolated sufferers, one may very well find, I suppose, 50 drinkers of water and 50 of wine; but if, knowing the habits of an entire population, I take, for example, 10,000 individuals, among whom there are 500 drinkers of water (in my region this proportion is rather exaggerated), and if out of these 500 I have 50 cases of appendicitis, then as I have only 50 out of 9,500 other individuals, I can say that the drinkers of water have appendicitis in one-tenth of the cases, and the drinkers of wine one-ninetieth. Of course I take, let me hasten to say, these figures arbitrarily. They have no statistical value. I simply want to demonstrate that one cannot trust first appearances, and that if, instead of considering some isolated cases, one takes the whole of the population together, one finds that drinkers of water are much more often attacked by appendicitis than others. And now one cannot help being struck by two facts: (1st) appendicitis (and one may say intestinal affections) have augmented considerably in frequency during the past quarter of a century. Now, is not that also the epoch of the great phylloxeric crisis, which has had as a consequence that natural wines have become rare, and thence their falsification? People have taken then, wisely, of course, to the habit of drinking water. (2nd) Appendicitis is certainly more frequent among the leisured classes in which the habit, which has become a fashion, is more frequent.

"What action then has water on the intestines and their bacilli? Has it the effect of bringing a pathogenic microbe as in typhoid fever for example? I have noted already that several of the patients have been observed only to drink mineral waters, renowned for their purity; another drinks only boiled water under the form of infusions. Evidently water does not act "by what it brings," but I think one should admit, it acts by that which it does not carry away, because it does not destroy. Wine is a certain antiseptic; for a long time it has been employed as such for external usage, under the form of aromatic wine, and the recent experiments of Sobrazés on the destruction of typhoid bacilli are very instructive. And then may not we admit that wine acts by destroying the intestinal microbes, and that if this role is lacking, there is produced an abnormal multiplication of saprophytes which become pathogenic? In addition, it is probable that

wine shares this power with other fermented drinks—with cider and beer, and with milk subjected to lactic fermentation. Mahometans consume these milks to a great extent, as if long experience had taught them of the danger of using water."

In his report to the Carmarthenshire Public Health Committee, Dr. E. Cambria Thomas, Acting County Medical Officer, said "that nephritis and Bright's disease caused 108 deaths, 84 of these occurred in people over 45. This disease used to be attributed to alcoholic excess, but he was inclined to believe that it was caused by excessive eating of butchers' meat and a strenuous life and worry." (See *Carmarthen Journal*, October 13th, 1916.)

ALCOHOLISM AND DEATH.

Excess in eating or drinking undoubtedly tends to shorten life, and excessive indulgence in alcoholic liquors is no exception to the rule. Probably, too, the Registrar General's Returns do not indicate the total of deaths accelerated by excessive drinking any more than they indicate the number of deaths by excessive eating. For statistical purposes therefore the Returns are not of sufficient value to be worth reproduction. But this defect in the statistics does not justify the assumptions which teetotallers often make regarding alcoholism as a cause of death. Some of them, for instance, assume that all deaths from cirrhosis of the liver are the result of intemperance, although sometimes they omit the deaths of children, and thereby admit that the disease can originate in other ways. It should also be noted that the disease has been found in cats.

The most impudent attempt ever made to exaggerate the alcoholic mortality appears in the form of an article in the 1916 edition of the "Alliance Year Book." The author is Norman Porritt, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., and he attributes 77,416 deaths in England and Wales in 1913 to the agency of alcohol (49,416 directly and 28,000 indirectly.) He arrives at these figures by a series of amazing assumptions which are not supported by even a shred of evidence. He takes the total mortality from all the principal diseases in turn, and calmly asserts that a proportion, a third or a half or a sixth, or any other fraction that occurs to him, are attributable to alcohol. There would, of course, be just as much authority for asserting that all the other deaths were attributable to teetotalism. As an example of the method adopted, he gives the number of deaths from heart disease

and heart failure due to alcohol as the total of all deaths from those causes between the ages of 25 and 65, viz., 23,090. In the same way he attributes a tenth of the fatalities from horses and vehicles to alcohol; while of 78 people above the age of 25 who died from excessive cold, 35 are assumed to have been the victims of alcohol; and so on right through the list. It is almost incredible that anyone can be found to take this absurd fabrication of statistics seriously, but the fact remains that the figures have been quoted on teetotal platforms all over the country.

The following medical opinions will be found useful in exposing these attempts to exaggerate the effects of alcoholic excess in the causation of disease. The quotations are from a book published in 1915,

Alcoholism as a Cause of Disease. entitled "Alcohol, Hygiene and Legislation," by Edward Huntington Williams, M.D., formerly Associate Professor of Pathology, State University of Iowa, and Associate Editor of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (Tenth Edition). He writes:—

"One of the most important events in recent years, in its bearing on the problem (of the effects of alcohol) was the discovery that paresis is caused by syphilis, not by alcohol, as widely believed heretofore."

"The drunkard may develop nephritis, or cirrhosis of the liver, or multiple neuritis, or pay one of a dozen other seeming penalties. Yet any of these conditions may be produced by some agency other than alcohol, since the total abstainer is not immune."

"It has been asserted repeatedly that alcohol 'causes the blood corpuscles to shrink, lose their round form and become ragged,' as stated by Henry Berg. The recent experiments of Jajlet, Evelin, and Quensel, however, absolutely refute this: and Quensel makes the definite assertion that 'in investigations made upon human beings who have misused alcohol, no morphological changes in the blood have been proven.'"

"The effect produced upon the normal liver by alcohol seems entirely enigmatic, although our predecessors confidently stamped cirrhosis as 'drunkard's liver.' Recent and more scientific investigations, however, fail to find complete justification for this stigma. Thus Baumgarten found cirrhosis of the liver in only 6 per cent. of autopsies among hard drinkers; and Fahr found only a trifle over 4 per cent. (thirteen cases in three hundred and nine autopsies). From their investigations it appears that total abstainers suffer from this disease about as frequently as alcoholics."

"The case against alcohol as the cause of organic heart disease will not stand close scrutiny. Indeed, our knowledge of the toxic action of certain proteins and other nutritive agents, makes it fairly certain that, at most, the action is indirect, and of no more importance etiologically than many staple articles of diet . . . there seems to be no evidence to support the contention that even chronic alcoholic abuse produces organic heart changes."

"The old conception of alcohol as a direct etiological factor in disease of the blood vessels, particularly arteriosclerosis, has been recently reversed. Thus Cabot, reporting on these conditions, states that 'only 6 per cent. of 283 cases of chronic and excessive alcoholism under fifty years of age showed any evidence of arteriosclerosis.' And of 45 cases of arteriosclerosis examined by me at the Massachusetts General Hospital only 13 per cent. gave a history of alcoholism. In the opinion of Louis Fagueres Bishop, 'pure alcohol, well diluted and taken in appropriate quantities with relation to food, probably has no effect' in producing arteriosclerosis. While the investigations of Lancereaux, Duclos, Orth, Schell, and Fahr offer evidence that not only may arteries in pronounced drinkers show an absence of arteriosclerotic changes but also that arteriosclerosis is not found earlier or to a greater extent in alcoholics than in other persons."

"The close relationship between diseases of the heart and blood-vessels suggests that the conclusions about alcohol as an etiological factor in nephritis would be practically the same as in the case of the other organs. This appears to be the case. In a comparative series of cases investigated by Lafont, for example, there were 6.3 per cent. cases of nephritis among alcoholics, while in non-alcoholics there were 7.3 per cent. Even where nephritis was present in alcoholics the etiological factor was so doubtful that Lafont stated, 'we cannot assert that nephritis in alcoholists is of alcoholic origin.' In Fahr's series chronic nephritis caused the death of but eight cases, and was less commonly noted than among the non-alcoholics. And Hultgren, in a long series of investigations, found no evidence of nephritis in 85 per cent. of alcoholic cases."

"There are phases of diabetes in which a veritable drenching of the system with whisky lifts the patient over an abysmal chasm. At these critical periods von Noorden 'advises no food, but large quantities of whisky.' . . . He calls these days 'alcohol days,' and says that it is astonishing how well large quantities are borne even when the patient is not accustomed to them. It is followed by a large reduction of ketonuria, and the general condition of the patient is greatly improved."

ALCOHOL AND OLD AGE.

The fact that certain insurance companies quote lower rates for total abstainers has given rise to the myth that abstainers as such have a longer expectation of life than moderate drinkers, an assertion which is not supported by a scrap of reliable evidence. The discrimination made by the insurance companies was the outcome of competition. A very slight inducement, in the way of a reduced premium, is sufficient to attract business, and when the temperance insurance societies began to offer this inducement to abstainers in order to attract a special class of business, the other offices were compelled to follow suit. The comparisons made on teetotal platforms are between teetotallers and all others, including those who drink to excess and probably do other things to excess. The fact that teetotallers are generally people of even temperament who take great care of themselves and live by routine is more than sufficient to explain the difference in the death-rates in the temperance and general sections. It is significant that the insurance companies have no means of knowing whether those who insure as teetotallers remain teetotallers, and it is more than probable that many do not.

These considerations have been elaborated by Sir James Crichton-Browne, in replying to some arguments and figures published by Sir Thomas Whittaker, M.P., the president of a temperance society, as follows (*The Throne*, August 24th, 1907) :—

**Sir James
Crichton-
Browne's
Views.**

“ I have no guarantee that Sir Thomas Whittaker's patent protective—total abstinence—was really observed by the members of his insurance company, who are alleged to have been benefited by it in duration of life. I am not aware that any strict actuarial comparison, founded on full and trustworthy information, has ever been instituted between abstaining and non-abstaining members of any insurance company. I should like to know how many of the abstaining members in Sir Thomas Whittaker's company have been lifelong abstainers, how many have been moderate drinkers, how many are reformed drunkards. I should like to know what guarantee the company has that its abstaining members are, and continue to be, total abstainers. Does a reversion to drinking habits void the policy or insure a transference from one class to the other? I should like to know how many of the abstaining members imbibe alcohol from time

to time under medical advice. I have to-day seen two old ladies, and I enclose the name of their medical attendant, who will verify the facts. One, who is eighty-two years of age, was for forty years of her life a rabid teetotaller. Six months ago she was struck down by pneumonia, and when she was sinking, and quite unconscious, her medical man insisted on the administration of brandy. She rallied instantly, and is now bright, intelligent, and vigorous, and still taking her doses of brandy without demur. She said to me to-day, 'Brandy has saved my life. I have been very foolish.' I do not know whether this old lady is insured in Sir Thomas Whittaker's office, but, if so, she will certainly be in the total abstinence class, while the company will owe one additional premium at any rate, and a fractional addition to the longevity rate of its abstaining members, to brandy. The other old lady, who is aged eighty-four, and is in quite a remarkable state of preservation, both of body and mind, has taken for the last twenty years, under medical advice, an ounce of brandy with her luncheon and a couple of glasses of claret with her dinner.

"Total abstainers are, on the large scale, like poets, born and not made, but they are constitutionally composed of very different stuff. They are endowed, I believe, with a high degree of viability of a rather low-level type. The quality as well as the quantity of life must be considered, and that of total abstainers is, I am satisfied, good and sound, but not of the very finest brand. I desire to speak of total abstainers with the utmost respect. There are amongst them men of marked ability; they are, as a body, animated by the highest and most benevolent principles, but they are naturally sober-minded and sober-sided and comparatively exempt from those nervous tensions and strains that shorten life, apart altogether from any excessive indulgence in alcohol. They are probably by temperament less susceptible to diseases of various kinds than their fellow mortals of more mobile and volatile organisation, and they are also less liable to endanger health by exposing themselves to excessive wear and tear. It will, I believe, be found, that as a rule they are engaged in the less hazardous occupations of life, and that is a point of great importance; for the duration of life is undoubtedly largely determined by the nature of the pursuits to which it is devoted. Just in proportion as the emotional element enters into these pursuits are they unfavourable to longevity. Dr. Madden has shown in his tables that eminent mathematicians dwelling on the clear cold heights of intellect have an average duration of life of seventy-five years, while the poets down in the heated atmosphere of imagination have an average duration of fifty-seven years only. The moral philosophers live

to seventy, the dramatists only to sixty-two. Genius of any kind has been rarely associated with total abstinence.

"Nothing in my official experience has struck me more than the great age to which chronic lunatics, living under private care, and exempt from the risks of asylum aggregation, attain. Once the storm of acute insanity has been weathered they pass into a state of placid dementia, untroubled by the cares of this life or the deceitfulness of riches, that seems capable of indefinite prolongation, but it is a vegetative and not very desirable sort of existence. Parrots in captivity live to a hundred. There used to be a jelly-fish named 'Granny' in the Botanic Gardens that was a hundred and fifty years old, but

'Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay,' and most men would not be content to give up the present help in time of trouble, the stimulus under present conditions of work, the pleasant exhilaration now and then which a moderate use of alcohol affords, for the expectation of an extra year in the seventies, could that be assured to them as a reward of their self-denial.

"Moderate drinkers are, no doubt, more apt to become immoderate drinkers than are total abstainers, but we still await information as to the life prospects of those who always remain moderate drinkers, as compared with those of total abstainers.

"If Sir Thomas Whittaker would look a little beyond the life tables of his own company he would note that those civilised races in which the consumption of alcohol per head has been largest have had the lowest death-rate. Doubtless many factors have contributed to this, but alcohol must not be ignored."

Mr. R. M. Moore, actuary of a temperance insurance office, started the alcohol scare in a paper on the "Comparative Mortality Among Assured Lives" (see *Journal of the Institute of Actuaries*, January, 1903), but in

**Views of
Insurance
Experts.** the discussion which followed the reading of the paper other well-known actuaries opposed the views expressed. Mr. H. W. Manley

stated that in the Table of Statistics of the Clergy Mutual, a general office, for the period of 1829 to 1887, the abstract showed an expectation of life among its members of half a year longer than the abstainers' table, given by Mr. Moore. Further, that in thirty years' experience of the Equitable, also a general office, the experience at every age period was better.

. Mr. A. Levine stated that in a New Zealand insurance

department the abstainers' section had not shown any better results than the non-abstainers' section, and that in an office which did a large business in Canada, in both sections the mortality experience had been on the whole worse in the abstainers' section.

In an address delivered before the Insurance and Actuarial Society of Glasgow on February 1st, 1909, Dr. Ebenezer Duncan said :—

" I am of opinion that if we could eliminate from the general section of our insurance offices all those persons who exceed the physiological limit in the use of alcohol the results shown by the general sections would be quite as good, or possibly, for certain reasons, which I shall afterwards adduce, better than the results shown by the abstainers' section in Mr. Moore's tables."

Dr. Duncan's reason for thinking that moderate drinkers would show a lower rate of mortality than abstainers was that the latter would suffer for their fanaticism by refusing to take alcohol in conditions of illness, or in some dangerous crisis when its administration might be necessary to save life.

Even among inebriates the death-rate is actually lower than that of the general population. Dr. Heron, in the Second Memoir on " Extreme Alcoholism in Adults " (see pages 41 and 46), makes a series of elaborate statistical calculations, and finds that out of the women inebriates under observation in the reformatories for a given period 76.7 deaths might be expected if their death-rate was the same as that of the general population. But as a matter of fact only thirty-nine deaths actually occurred, and commenting on this he says : " We see that the death-rate among inebriates while under sentence is only half that of the general female population of the same age distribution." Furthermore, he shows that the general death-rate in the class from which these women are mainly drawn is higher than that of the general population. By further calculations he comes to the conclusion that the expected deaths might be put at 171, whereas the actual number was only thirty-nine.

INSURANCE COMPANIES PRACTICE.

Stone & Cox's Life Policy Conditions, 1916, contains the names of eighty-one assurance companies. Out of this number in seventy-four cases it reports " Intoxicants—No clause in policy."

Much ado has been made over the fact that publicans are

called upon to pay an increased premium; the matter is grossly exaggerated, as the following figures will show:—

**Publicans
and
Insurance
Rates.**

The Prudential are prepared to give a ten years' £100 endowment policy with profits to a publican for an extra premium of 15s. (fifteen shillings) per cent.

The Standard, British Widows and Pioneer Assurance companies grant endowment policies to publicans for an extra premium of £1 per cent.

The Pearl and the Refuge grant endowment policies for 30s. (thirty shillings) per cent. But it must not be forgotten that the risks covered are threefold, and they include fatal or serious bodily injury inflicted by evil-disposed persons—very often strangers—who enter the publican's open door, the risk of injury by bursting bottles and siphons, and the possibility of the publican's drinking to excess owing to the special temptations of his calling. One or more companies on their accident policies discriminate between publicans and publicans serving behind the bar. In the former case they are placed in Class III, and in the latter case in Class IV, and consequently a higher premium demanded.

There is no doubt, had assurance tables been revised prior to the war, owing to improved medical and surgical skill, better housing and sanitation, that the publican would have been admitted at practically ordinary rates.

On this subject we may quote from Miss Ethel M. Elderton's Galton Laboratory booklet, "The Relative Strength of Nature and Nurture," published in 1915. "It is conceivable that we might find the death-rate of innkeepers much in excess of the death-rate of the clergy, and overlook the fact that the average age at starting the occupation of innkeeper is far higher than that of entering the church, because ultimately to keep an inn is the ambition of men who begin life in a variety of other callings."

The Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Company, Ltd., claims to be the first company to give reduced rates to abstainers. If a man, aged 45 next birthday, took out a fifteen years' endowment policy immediate bonus for £100 in the General section of this company his annual premium would be £7 3s. 6d. If he took out the identical policy in the abstainers' section his annual premium would be £7 3s. 6d., — less 2s. 6d. = £7 1s.

But it is worth noting that a non-abstainer, aged 45 next birthday, can take a fifteen years' endowment policy for £100 with profits in the Norwich Union, Northern or Royal—all

three larger and more influential concerns—for the slightly cheaper premium of £7 os. 6d., £7 os. 8d. and £7 os. 8d. respectively.

Here is another case : if a man, aged 45 next birthday, took out a whole-life policy immediate bonus for £100 in the abstainers' section his premium would be £3 15s., less 10 per cent.=£3 7s. 6d. A non-abstainer can insure with the Clergy Mutual for £100 whole life with profits for £3 12s. 4d. It will thus be seen that the assured, although credited with 10 per cent., *i.e.*, 7s. 6d., is only 4s. 10d. better off, because the general section tables in the case of some temperance societies are from 2s. to 3s. higher per £100. Furthermore, a great deal depends upon what the profits of a particular company are.

The Clergy Mutual, whose without profit assurances are open to the general public, will give a *non-abstainer*, aged 40 next birthday, a twenty years' endowment policy for £100 without profit for an annual premium of £4 1s.; total paid in £81. Whereas the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution (of which Sir Thomas Whittaker is chairman) charges a non-abstainer, or abstainer, aged 40 next birthday, for a twenty years' non-profit endowment policy for £100, under their April, 1917, Option Policy—stated to be for present conditions—an annual premium for the first five years of £4 13s. 1d., and thereafter for fifteen years of £4 8s. 5d. per annum; total paid in £89 11s. 8d. The Clergy Mutual policy, therefore, saves the assured no less than £8 11s. 8d. plus any accruing interest, if the money be loaned out. The Clergy Mutual gives a whole life non-profit assurance for £100 to a man, aged 40 next birthday, for an annual flat rate premium of £2 6s. 7d. The U.K.P.I. charge £2 15s. per annum for five years, and thereafter £2 12s. 2d. per annum.

Mr. Thomas Landers, the late secretary of the True Temperance Association, undertook an inquiry into every case of extraordinary longevity observed in the news-

An Investigation. papers between April 1st and July 1st, 1913. The inquiries were confined to persons who

lived to the age of ninety-five or over, and in all twenty-three such cases were investigated, seventeen of them being centenarians. After the fullest and most careful inquiry it was found that there was not a single total abstainer among them, but that all these people who have lived to an age far beyond the ordinary span of human life have been moderate drinkers. The following are a few examples :—

Mr. Robert Crichton, of Caterham (aged 101), was a moderate drinker of alcoholic drinks of all kinds up till about 1893, and has since taken brandy occasionally under doctor's orders.

Mr. W. A. G. Hake, of Brighton, who reached the age of 102 on April 5th, 1913, has always enjoyed wine and other drinks in moderation till the year 1909, when he lost the taste for liquor; but he still takes brandy and water occasionally under doctor's orders.

Miss Margaret King, of Southport, who died in 1912, at the age of 101, was a moderate drinker.

Mr. William Perkins, of Whaplode Drove, aged 101, worked hard till he was over ninety, drank beer freely, and even now takes home-made wine.

Mrs. Rebecca Clark, of Wood Green (aged 109), has always been accustomed to alcoholic drinks, and enjoys them occasionally at the present time.

Mrs. Mary Ann Cooper, who reached the age of 98 in 1912, enjoyed port wine and occasionally brandy.

Mr. John Kinnel Long, of Small Heath, Birmingham, who died in 1913, at the age of 102, drank both wine and beer, and of late years took whisky also, by the doctor's orders.

The late Mr. Edgar Jones, F.R.C.S., who died at the age of 102, took wine occasionally, and also a little neat brandy whenever troubled by indigestion. It was stated in a well-known teetotal paper in August, 1911, that Dr. Jones was a total abstainer. Careful inquiry shows that this statement is entirely without foundation.

Mrs. Sarah Ann Akehurst, of Horseridge, who reached the age of 101 on May 21st, 1913, has been accustomed to take all kinds of alcoholic drinks.

The late Mrs. Sarah Legg, of Redhill, who died in June, 1913, at the age of 99, was in the habit of drinking beer with her dinner, and also took brandy occasionally.

Mr. Thomas Farragher, who died in May, 1913, at the age of 105, had been in the habit of taking every kind of alcoholic beverage, and was also an inveterate smoker.

Mrs. Hannah Ford, of Blarney, Ireland, who died in June, 1913, at the age of 105, had never been an abstainer. She took both whisky and beer occasionally.

Mrs. Margaret Burke, of Clonmel, Ireland, died in June, 1913, at the age of 108. She enjoyed whisky-punch and other alcoholic beverages.

Sir Geo. Birdwood, who spent 30 years of his life at the India Office, and who celebrated his 84th birthday in December, 1915, was reported in the *Morning Advertiser*, of December 6th, 1915, as saying:—

"The public-house is for me one of the most thoroughly enjoyable of our national institutions. Between 1871 and

1902 I came to know every one of them within a mile's radius of the India Office, and I never was served with a bad glass of beer at a single one of them! Who can say that of our beastly teetotal drinks? Our publican's is one of the most honest trades in Great Britain."

The *Bournemouth Guardian*, of March 14th, 1914, records that Dr. Sumner, who lived to be 84, and who was Bishop of Winchester for over 40 years, in accounting for his health and vigour when close on 80 years of age to Frith, the artist, said:—"I have eaten of whatever good things were put before me, and I have drunk a bottle of port wine every day since I was a boy."

The *Evening News*, of August 29th, 1915, reported the following statement made at a meeting of the Henley Guardians on the previous day:—

"Mr. C. J. Barnett told the Board there were ten women in the infirmary ward whose ages aggregated 834 years, an average of 83 years. The ages of the occupants of a row of six beds totalled 528 years, an average of 88. The oldest was 97. 'They are all,' added Mr. Barnett, 'non-teetotallers; they like their glass of beer, and would like another.'"

Sir Thomas B. Crosby, M.D., Lord Mayor of London, 1911-12, in replying to a vote of thanks at a meeting of doctors, held at the Mansion House on February 7th, 1912, to discuss certain aspects of the temperance question, said:—

"If it were true that alcohol was as deadly a poison as some people thought, he ought to have been dead some years ago. He was 82 years of age, and on most days had taken a moderate amount of alcohol. He called that being temperate." (*Daily Telegraph*, February 8th, 1912.)

PARENTAL ALCOHOLISM AND ITS EFFECT ON THE OFFSPRING.

Allegations are sometimes made as to the disastrous effects of parental indulgence in alcoholic liquors as shown in the physique and ability of the offspring. In this, as in other matters, the teetotallers make no attempt to discriminate between moderation and excess, their purpose being to create the impression that only abstaining parents can rear healthy children. These allegations were purely supposititious; up to the year 1910 there was no evidence of any scientific or practical value upon which the effect on the offspring of parental indulgence in alcoholic liquors either in moderation or excess could be gauged.

The position has, however, been entirely changed by the publication of the results of scientific investigations undertaken

by "The Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics." The conclusions arrived at are directly contrary to all teetotal theories on the subject, and they occasioned some surprise even to the authors of the report (Ethel M. Elderton, Galton Research Scholar, and Professor Karl Pearson, F.R.S.), who say that even after some progress had been made with the inquiry they had "a reasonable anticipation that alcoholism in the parent would be found to have not only, through the direct and cross factors of heredity, a marked influence on the child, but toxic and environmental effects of possibly an even graver kind. A strong personal feeling with regard to the slightest alcoholic excess rapidly leads to a bias in favour of attributing to it all the ills of society, and it would have been difficult for us to have claimed entire freedom from this bias when we first approached this subject. Here, at least, we anticipated that marked environmental effects would be found and quantitatively defined."

The following summary of the final conclusions shows that the anticipations were not realised :—

(See "A First Study of the Influence of Parental Alcoholism on the Physique and Ability of the Offspring.")

"(1.) There is a higher death-rate among the offspring of alcoholic than among the offspring of sober parents. This appears to be more marked in the case of the mother than in the case of the father, and since it is sensibly higher in the case of the mother who has drinking bouts than of the mother who habitually drinks, it would appear to be due very considerably to accidents and gross carelessness and possibly in a minor degree to a toxic effect on the offspring.

"Owing to a greater fertility of alcoholic parents, the nett family of the sober is hardly larger than the nett family of the alcoholic.

"(2.) The mean weight and height of the children of alcoholic parents are slightly greater than those of sober parents, but as the age of the former children is slightly greater, the correlations when corrected for age are slightly positive, *i.e.*, there is slightly greater height and weight in the children of the sober. In the case of the father the correlations are not significant, having regard to their probable error; in the case of the mother they may be just significant, but they are so slight as to have no importance.

"(3.) The wages of the aleoholie as contrasted with those of the sober parent show a slight difference compatible with the employers' dislike for an alcoholic employee, but wholly inconsistent with a marked mental or physical inferiority in the alcoholic parent.

"(4.) The general health of the children of alcoholic parents appears on the whole slightly better than that of sober parents.

There are fewer delicate children and in a most marked way cases of tuberculosis and epilepsy are less frequent than among the children of sober parents. The source of this relation may be sought in two directions ; the physically strongest in the community have probably the greatest capacity and taste for alcohol. Further, the higher death rate of the children of alcoholic parents probably leaves the fitter to survive. Epilepsy and tuberculosis both depending upon inherited constitutional conditions, they will be more common in the parents of affected offspring, and, probably if combined with alcohol, are incompatible with any length of life or much size of family. If these views be correct, we can only say that parental alcoholism has no marked effect on filial health.

"(5.) Parental alcoholism is not the source of mental defect in offspring.

"(6.) The relationship, if any, between parental alcoholism and filial intelligence is so slight, that even its sign cannot be determined from the present material.

"(7.) The normal visioned and normal refractioned offspring appear to be in rather a preponderance in the families of the drinking parents, the parents who have ' bouts ' give intermediate results, but there is no substantial relationship between goodness of sight and parental alcoholism. Some explanation was sought on the basis of alcoholic homes driving the children out into the streets. This was found to be markedly the case, the children of alcoholic parents spending much more of their spare time in the streets. An examination, however, of the vision and refraction of children with regard to the time they spent in or out doors showed no clear and definite result, the children who spent the whole or most of their spare time in the streets having most myopia and also most normal sight. It was not possible to assert that the outdoor life was better for the sight, or that the better sight of the offspring of alcoholic parentage was due to the greater time spent outdoors.

"(8.) The frequency of diseases of the eye and eyelids, which might well be attributed to parental neglect, was found to have little, if any, relation to parental alcoholism.

"To sum up, then, no marked relation has been found between the intelligence, physique, or disease of the offspring and parental alcoholism in any of the categories investigated. On the whole, the balance turns as often in favour of the alcoholic as of the non-alcoholic parentage. It is needless to say that we do not attribute this to the alcohol, but to certain physical and possibly mental characters which appear to be associated with the tendency to alcohol. Other categories when investigated may give a different result, but we confess that our experience as to the influence of environment has

now been so considerable that we hardly believe larger correlations are likely to occur."

Teetotalers were very angry with this report. Miss Elderton and Professor Karl Pearson were violently assailed, but their fanatical critics overreached themselves, and gave Professor Karl Pearson an excuse for a vigorous re-statement of the case. He published, in conjunction with Miss Elderton, a second memoir on the "Influence of Parental Alcoholism on the Physique and Ability of the Offspring."

In the course of their reply the authors deal with an American teetotal writer, Dr. MacNicholl, frequently quoted by teetotalers, and particularly by the late Sir Victor Horsley and Dr. Saleeby,* two medical champions of teetotalism, who have used the material collected by him to support their cause. Dr. MacNicholl claimed to have traced 200 families through four generations. The difficulties of such a task are so tremendous and the possibilities of error so great, that the conclusions are almost worthless in any case. But even if we accept them, it is difficult to see what comfort the teetotalers can draw therefrom. Starting with each and all of the grandparents as moderate drinkers, Dr. MacNicholl arrives at the following results:—

GREAT-GRANDPARENTS IN MODERATE CIRCUMSTANCES.

	1st Generation.	2nd Generation.	3rd Generation.	4th Generation.
Moderate drinkers	Per cent. 100	Per cent. 41	Per cent. 22	Per cent. 38
Heavy drinkers	0	18	10	4
Abstainers	0	40	67	57

GREAT-GRANDPARENTS IN PROSPEROUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

	1st Generation.	2nd Generation.	3rd Generation.	4th Generation.
Moderate drinkers	Per cent. 100	Per cent. 61	Per cent. 50	Per cent. 27
Heavy drinkers	0	8	10	5
Abstainers	0	30	39	67

* NOTE.—Dr. Saleeby states (*British Journal of Inebriety*, Vol. viii, page 53), that he abandoned medical practice in 1902 to devote himself to the study and advocacy of eugenics. His first qualifying medical degree dates from 1901. So much for his medical experience.

Now we have a marked change here in the percentages of drinkers: we start with no abstainers and reach 57 per cent. to 67 per cent. The stocks are becoming less and less alcohol drinkers.

Now look at the results:—

PHYSICAL DEFECTIVES.

Great- Grandparents.	1st Genera- tion.	2nd Genera- tion.	3rd Genera- tion.	4th Genera- tion.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Moderate circumstances ..	0	80	87	92
Prosperous circumstances ..	0	71	87	96

It will be seen that the grandparents were all moderate drinkers, and that there were no physical defectives among them, while 57 per cent. to 67 per cent. of the descendants in the fourth generation were abstainers, and 92 to 96 per cent. of them were physical defectives. If the data are in any way reliable, and if there is any conclusion to be drawn therefrom, it is surely that the spread of total abstinence has been accompanied by an increase in physical defectiveness. The authors of the memoir say: "It can only be an exceptional English family whose great-grandparents did not 'each and all' drink moderately. The fact that 95 per cent. of physical defectives and degenerates do not exist among us is sufficient to show the complete futility of such statistics. Even if they were true, there would be as much logic in attributing the 95 per cent. of defectives to the increasing abstinence as to the 'moderate drinking' of great-grandparents; either is mere association, not demonstrated causation. Yet it is the material of such a writer which Sir Victor Horsley and Dr. Saleeby hold worthy of scientific credence."

The data collected by Bezzola to try and prove that the maximum number of imbecile conceptions in Switzerland can be attributed to the time of the vintage is examined and shown to be ridiculously fallacious. It is pointed out that "the argument as to the vintage would be almost exactly paralleled if September were shown to be a month with an excess of imbecile births in Kent, and it was then attributed to beer, because it was the month of the hop harvest."

The authors conclude this very instructive study of a great subject with the following passages:—

"Until we know whether mental defect is the antecedent or consequent of extreme alcoholism, it is purely idle to heap up examples of the association of extreme alcoholism with

defectiveness in the offspring. If mental defect be the antecedent and not the consequent, then, because it is hereditary, it will always be possible to pick out defective offspring in some extreme cases of alcoholism. But this admitted association is no argument at all that alcohol in all forms leads to degenerate offspring."

"It is necessary first to demonstrate that the alcoholism is the antecedent and not the consequent of hereditary defectiveness in these extreme cases. There lies the problem of inebriety in its most fundamental phase. And if that problem be answered in the way we believe it will be answered, namely, that there is an antecedent hereditary defectiveness in those cases where parental alcoholism has been found associated with mental and physical defectiveness in the offspring, on whose shoulders will the blame lie for the partial shipwreck of the temperance movement? Will it not certainly lie on the shoulders of the men who are forming premature judgments on great social problems without studying the weight of the evidence they deduce; who thrust on the public as proof data which are self-contradictory, and must sooner or later be admitted as such? The only way to produce lasting reform in social matters is to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, to the man in the street. We doubt whether the public have been told the truth in this matter. They have been told what the supporters of the temperance movement honestly believe, but the moment the writings of these men are studied it will be seen that the fundamental problems have not yet been answered, and if answered in a sense different from the current belief, the whole basis of the temperance movement will be shaken. The fault of the consequent reaction in the public mind must lie with those who believe that pre-judgments rather than continuous study will enable them to find the right solution for any social difficulty."

"We have thought it better to go to the core of the matter, and the nature of that core can be best illustrated in Sir Victor Horsley's method. It consists in mistaking occasional association for general causation; once that error is realised, the work of coping with the problem of alcoholism will have to be started *de novo*. It will be a national misfortune if temperance associations, societies for the study of inebriety, and popular writers on alcoholism pledge themselves to views which have no sound basis in observed facts, and expend their forces in invective rather than open-minded inquiry and sympathetic criticism."

These investigations were continued at the Galton Laboratory, and the latest conclusions have been published (1915)

in a booklet entitled "The Relative Strength of Nature and Nurture," by Ethel M. Elderton. The author commences by illustrating the importance of considering all associated factors before attempting to solve the simplest problem in the relationship of heredity and environment to human progress.

The method of inquiry adopted by the Galton Laboratory is to take the social conditions which need modification and study their correlation with as many factors as can possibly be measured. The correlation is measured by a decimal lying between "0" and "1," which is called the "co-efficient." As this "correlation co-efficient" rises to "1" we approach a condition of absolute dependence. As it falls to "0" we approach a condition of absolute independence.

The following extracts from the booklet show the results of the application of this method of inquiry to the problem of the relationship between the drinking of parents and the height, weight, general health, and intelligence of children :—

"More disastrous results have been attributed to drink than to any other social evil—we might almost say than to all other social evils taken together. Since we have been working at this subject we have read carefully many speeches, as reported in the papers, on the subject of drink, and confess we have been somewhat astonished at the statements occasionally made.

"For example: a well-known man is reported to have said in the course of a speech enumerating the various evils resulting from drink that 10 per cent. of the children of drunkards are tuberculous, but he made no mention of the fact that practically 10 per cent. of the general population suffer at one or another period from tuberculosis.

"We have two series of statistics for studying the question of the effect of drink, the Edinburgh Charity Organisation Society Report (on the Physical Condition of fourteen hundred school children in Edinburgh) and the statistics provided for us by Miss Dendy (giving an account of the children in the Special Schools in Manchester).

"We will consider first the results obtained from the Edinburgh statistics, which are given in the next table.

	Drink and Weight.	Drink and Height.	Drink and Intelligence.
Boys .. . .	.05	.04	—.03
Girls .. . .	.08	.09	.00

" Here we see that drink in the parents has no effect on the intelligence of boys or girls, and practically none on the height and weight of boys. In the case of girls there is a very slight correlation between drinking of the parents and lower weight and height in the daughters, but considering that the probable error of these results is about .03 they are only just significant. Is this slight difference between the effect of drink on boys and girls due to the possibility that when the mother drinks the girls have to look after the home, whereas the responsibilities of the boys are not increased ? But whatever the reason, we would emphasise the fact that a correlation of .09 is of very little importance as compared with a correlation of .50 due to heredity.

" Before considering these results further we may turn to the statistics obtained from the special schools in Manchester. Here we cannot find the correlation co-efficients between drink and actual height and weight of the children, but we can find the co-efficient of correlation between drink and general health, and between drink and intelligence. In this case we have worked out the influence of the drinking of (1) the father, (2) the mother, on the health and intelligence of the children.

	Father.		Mother.		
	Intemperance and Health.	Intemperance and Intelligence.	Intemperance and Health.	Intemperance and Intelligence.	
Sons	— .06	— .11	— .07	— .01	
Daughters	— .04	— .02	— .03	— .08	

" Here again we see that drink has practically no influence on the general health and intelligence of boys and girls, and the little influence it has is in favour of the children of drinking parents ; they are healthier and more intelligent. These results are certainly startling and rather upset one's preconceived ideas, but it is perhaps a consolation that to the obvious and visible misery of the children arising from drink, lowered intelligence and physique are not added.

" But before asserting that intemperance of the parents has practically no effect on the physique and intelligence of the children, there is a point to be considered which we mentioned in the first part of this paper. What is the status of the drinking workman ? Is the drinker on an average the

abler man and of finer physique? If so, his children should show greater ability and better physique than the children of the non-drinking parent, and further, if the abler workman gets higher wages, and thus notwithstanding drink, the food at home has been of better quality, we should expect his children to be better developed physically than those of the non-drinker.

"As before, the only estimate we have at present of the intelligence and physique of a workman is the wage he earns. A high wage on an average will mean a stronger and more efficient workman. We want to discover therefore whether drink and good wage go together to any large extent. If they do, then drinking fathers should have stronger and more intelligent children than non-drinking fathers. But unless there is a fairly well-marked correlation it will not be sufficient to affect greatly our results.

"We divided parents into three classes: (1) both parents drink, (2) one parent drinks, (3) neither parent drinks, and the wages into four groups: (1) under 18s. a week, (2) 18s. to 24s. inclusive, (3) 26s. to 34s., (4) 36s. and over 36s. The correlation co-efficient found by the fourfold method between the drinking of one or both parents and a high wage is .03, which means that there is practically no connection between drinking of the parents and a high wage. The means show the same thing—the mean wage when both parents drink is 24s. 8d., when one parent drinks is 25s. 6d., and when neither parent drinks is 25s. 5d.—there is a slightly lower wage when both parents drink and a very slightly higher when one parent drinks, but we cannot attach any importance to a difference of 1d. We tried to find from the Manchester special schools what was the connection between wages and drink, but the wages are very seldom given when the father drinks. From the few cases where they are given I found the average wage of a drinking father to be 23s. 7d., and of a non-drinking father to be 23s. 4d., i.e., a slightly higher wage for the drinking father in Manchester, but the numbers are too few for the results to be considered of any importance. If wage then is an estimate of ability and physique we may say that the ability and physique of the drinking workman is about the average, and we can state with greater confidence that the 'well-known fact' that drinking has a bad effect on the physique and intelligence of the children has yet to be proved" (pp. 16-19).

VIII.—DRINK AND CRIME.

As in the case of pauperism and lunacy, teetotal propagandists do not hesitate to assert that nearly all crime is due to drink, and here again they confuse association with causation and draw no distinction between moderation and excess. Unfortunately they have so far succeeded in creating an atmosphere of prejudice in this matter that many people, who might be expected to weigh the evidence before giving an opinion, have given their authority to statements which cannot be substantiated. Judges of the High Court from time to time make remarks which contain obviously hazardous statistical computations as to the part which excessive drinking of alcoholic liquor is supposed to play in the production of criminals ; but the weight even of such authority must not be regarded as exact scientific demonstration. A moment's thought will show this. Mr. Justice Blank, let us say, declares in his wrath that 75 per cent. of the criminals appearing before him when he goes on circuit are there through drink. Those criminals are indicted for all sorts of offences, ranging from poaching to forgery, from murder to picking pockets ; and it would be a sheer impossibility for anyone, even the most learned judge, to apportion precisely, in statistical measure, the causes which in each case brought about the discovered wrong-doing of the accused. When his lordship hazards his percentage he is doing one of two things—he is either expressing his individual opinion that the majority of poachers and forgers would never have fallen into their evil course but for the demoralising effect upon them of excessive drinking, or he is crystallising into a phrase his observation that drinking, in some way or another, was associated with the bundle of facts which it was his duty to investigate in most of the cases coming before him. We may offer a word of criticism upon each of these explanations.

With regard to the first, we have better authority even than a judge's for the statement that the " heart of man is 'desperately wicked,'" and students of criminology would be slow to put their fingers on the cause, or the chief cause, which prompted a particular man to commit a particular crime. A lot of investigation would be necessary, and the investigator would soon come to agree (whatever his final diagnosis might

be) that the causes of criminal acts are often obscure and deep rooted, and that generalisations are dangerous. It is also obvious that habitual excess in drink is not likely to be associated with the practice of the forger's art (the late Mr. Justice Walton exempted burglars from the drink influence) and that in regard to many other offences—crimes of jealousy, or lighter acts of wrong-doing, such as poaching—there are other things much more naturally and reasonably to be attributed as causes than excessive drinking.

With regard to the second explanation, though it is true that the public-house, or drunkenness itself, frequently crops up when the facts of a criminal trial are laid before the court, it is not therefore to be assumed that the consumption of alcoholic beverages was the cause of the crime. The public-house often figures in these cases because it is, as the name implies, a convenient popular meeting place; and just as some men meet in a public-house to transact ordinary innocent business, so those engaged in nefarious business naturally choose the same handy rendezvous for the discussion of their plans. As to the addiction of criminals to drink, two observations present themselves. The first is that which is familiar to those whose fate takes them into criminal courts. When a blackguard is charged, say, with ill-treating his wife, and has nothing else to say in self-defence, he falls back upon the assertion that "he has had a drop of beer," a defence which he knows is likely to be treated by a modern judge as a palliation of his act. The thing has become a common trick. The other observation is that the tastes of criminals are low, otherwise they wouldn't be criminals. One does not expect the pickpocket to have refined tastes. His conceptions of enjoyment run on sensual lines, and so excessive drinking, like other vices, will usually be found among the criminal classes. But that is not to say that excessive drinking is the cause of their criminality; rather it is a phase of their lives which one would naturally expect to find.

In order to establish the proposition that drink is the author of crime, it would be necessary to show that the prosecutions for criminal offences and prosecutions for drunkenness correspond—that where one decreased or increased, the other decreased or increased, and as statistics of both kinds of prosecutions are collected and published demonstration of the connection between the two, if it existed, could be easily made, and surely would be made, seeing what a vast army of persons are professionally engaged in the furtherance of teetotalism. But we never find such demonstration even attempted, and for the very reason that the attempt would fail. The following table, which has been compile

from the official volume of Criminal Statistics, will illustrate the point :—

ENGLAND AND WALES.

	Number of Persons Tried for Drunkenness.	Total of Serious Indictable Offences Reported to Police.
1906	211,493	91,665
1907	210,024	98,822
1908	202,081	105,279
1909	182,416	105,287
1910	175,449	103,132
1911	186,182	97,171
1912	182,592	101,997
1913	188,877	97,933
1914	204,929	63,365
1915	151,647	59,287

However the above table be regarded, it gives no support to the theory of a necessary or intimate connection between drunkenness and crime.

Evidence of absence of correspondence between drink and crime which has followed prohibition will be found in the subjoined table relating to New Zealand.

Number of Persons brought before Magistrates for offences other than drunkenness in 1915.

Whole Dominion : Population to nearest thousand—1,145,000.

Offences other than drunkenness.	Proportion per thousand population.
32,477	28.36

No-Licence Areas: Population to nearest thousand—102,000.

Offences other than drunkenness.	Proportion per thousand population.
2,906	28.49

The following are a few details of the classes of crime showing excess in No-liscence Areas.

Dominion.			No-Licence Areas.		
	No.	Per 1,000.		No.	Per 1,000.
Manslaughter	0	.0051		1	.0008
Carnal Knowledge	34	.020		6	.058
Incest	14	.012		2	.0196
Selling Liquor Without Licence	204	.17		47	.46
Destitutes, Bastardy ..	292	.25		30	.35
Infants Act	13	.011		2	.019
School Attendance	573	.50		81	.82
Destitutes, failing to maintain	2,519	2.22		208	2.04

With regard to countries which have embarked upon the experiment of Prohibition, it is remarkable that in the "dry" State of Kansas the ratio of divorces to marriages from 1887 to 1906 was 1 to 9, as against 1 to 13½ in all America; and Canon Gamble, in a letter in the *Times* of May 18th, 1918, declares that "some of the other 'dry' States show an even worse record." This is an effective comment upon the statement attributed to an English judge, and much quoted by teetotallers, that if there were no drink in this country the Divorce Court might be closed.

Moreover, if drink was responsible for nearly all crime we should expect Mohammedan countries, where total abstinence is a tenet of religion, to be crimeless, but not even a teetotal agitator would have the hardihood to suggest that such is the case.

Of course, no reasonable man with any knowledge of the world or the courts would deny that in some cases a connection may be traced between crime and drink, or that drink is in some cases a contributory or even a chief cause; but that admission falls a long way short of the assertion that drink is the parent of nearly all crime and vice—an assertion which the facts and figures quoted above absolutely disprove. Now the fact that an uncertain and comparatively small proportion of crime is the result of excessive drinking is no reason for abusing all drinking, or for adopting illiberal measures for preventing or restricting the sale of alcoholic beverages. Love of finery leads many girls to dishonesty—and worse things; are we to abuse milliners and drapers and shut up their shops? Desire to accumulate wealth sends scores of men every year into penal servitude; shall we, therefore, shut up the stock exchanges and abolish private property? Mistakes in marriage are the fertile source of the most terrible tragedies; is the institution of marriage to be abolished on that account? It is wrong in fact to say that drink is the cause of most crime; it is wrong in logic to assume that because the abuse of liquor leads a few men and women into criminal courses therefore its reasonable use by the great majority of people should be frowned upon.

The following quotations from Dr. James Devon's book, "The Criminal and the Community," are worthy of study:

Dr. Devon's Expert View. Writing of women convicted for cruelty neglecting their children he says (page 57):

"Drink has been held accountable for their conduct, and it has had a share in its causation, but it has masked the permanent flaw behind it, whether the defect has existed before the subject gave way to drink or has resulted from drink."

With regard to the professional thief, Dr. Devon writes (page 60) :—

" There are few occupations in which sobriety is not required to ensure and maintain success, and this is true, whether the business be an honest or a dishonest one. Not that the thief need be a teetotaller ; in his hours of relaxation he may be found proving the contrary ; but he cannot afford to drink during business hours. In prison he may say that he is there on account of drink, but the statement, though it may be true, is misleading. It is a convenient formula and serves to prevent further inquiry. He knows that those who question him have their prejudices, and he is aware that it is the fashion to trace all crimes to drink—and no further. Let him frankly confess his failing for liquor, and he will obtain some sympathy which may materialise on his liberation. It is literally true in many cases, the statement, ' If it hadn't been the drink, I wadna be here.' But it is also true that he has not been honest when sober. For every time he has been caught there are many thefts he has committed and escaped capture. Continue the inquiry, and it is found that what he means is that if he had not obscured his judgment with drink he would not have attempted the job he undertook ; or he would have kept a better look-out before he did take it in hand. He is not a thief because of the drink, but a thief who is caught because he has been intemperate. The drink in this case has not proved an ally to crime, but an auxiliary of the police ; it has not caused the theft, but has enabled the thief to be caught."

Dr. Devon shows that density of population has more to do with crime than drink (page 79) :—

" But the amount of crime in Scotland is not in proportion to the amount of drinking in any district.

" While no ratio can be traced between the amount of drinking or the degree of poverty in Scotland, there is a very definite relationship between the density of the population and the incidence of breaches of the law. Not only is there more crime in the city than in the country, but from the densely populated parts of the city there are more committals than from the less crowded districts."

In the autumn of 1905 the Rev. J. Cartmel-Robinson conducted a mission among the convicts of Dartmoor, with regard to which he said :—

" The deepest impression I have brought A Clergyman's away from Dartmoor is that drink is not Experience. responsible for the serious crimes to anything like the extent some people imagine. Drink and crime have been so long associated in the public mind

that I confess, as a teetotaller, I held the common opinion myself. My experience at Dartmoor forces me to change my opinion. It is so easy to generalise and say drink is the cause of nearly all crimes. No one wants to minimise the evils of drink. My impression, however, is that the men who are undergoing the long sentences are, as a general rule, not the victims of drink. Many of them, I found, had been lifelong teetotallers. Nay, some of the worst offences had been committed by teetotallers."

In so far as a connection between drink and crime can be traced, the following quotation is useful :—

Dr. Frank A. Gill, in his report on the Langho Inebriates' Reformatory for 1912, writes with reference to the fact that the percentage of mentally defective women in the reformatory averages over 60 per cent. :—

The Inebriate not a True Criminal. "We cannot face those figures year after year as we have done now for eight years without being impressed with the close relationship that exists between the habitual inebriate and the feeble-minded and the criminal. Inebriety is not a form of criminality; the inebriate is not a true criminal, and few real criminals are inebriates. They are criminal in the sense that they break the law, but their offences, as a rule, are trivial, and they do more harm to themselves than to the person or property of the community. They inflict great suffering and injury on their own families and relations, and when their anti-social qualities are brought out by drink they are a nuisance and expense rather than a menace to society."

Here is a quotation from an authority which places excessive drinking as a cause of crime in reasonable proportion. Dr. Bernard Hollander, in his book "The First Signs of Insanity," writes :—

"As regards crime, premeditated crime is rare amongst drunkards, but misdemeanours and crimes committed in passion, and while under the influence of alcohol, are common. Therefore, if we reduce drink, it is by no means certain that we reduce dangerous criminality."

IX.—DRINK AND PAUPERISM.

Pauperism is another of our social ills which has been loosely attributed to the agency of "drink." In fact teetotal orators are never tired of asserting that nearly all poverty is due to "drink." Here, again, association has been confused with causation. Teetotallers are fond of quoting as evidence an isolated paragraph from the Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission, but a more detailed study would show them that this paragraph is hardly consistent with other features of the Report. The causes of pauperism in large towns suggested by a relieving officer at Leeds and quoted at the commencement of this section of the Report are as follows :—

"The most important causes of pauperism are : (a) Old age, (b) the early marriage of persons dependent upon casual labour. Large families are the rule. Owing to the low wages earned no provision can be made to meet such contingencies as non-employment, sickness, or of imprisonment for debt. The latter is a crying scandal, and I have had to relieve the families of hard-working, respectable men who have been committed for a long period on non-compliance with a county court judge's order for a few shillings. (c) Imprisonment for criminal offences is a large factor in pauperism. (d) Venereal disease also contributes largely ; its ramifications are appalling. (e) Intemperance is another contribution, and in this I find females to be the worst offenders. Many men are perforce paupers by the intemperance of their wives. (f) Indiscriminate relief by private persons and religious bodies also contributes largely to pauperism, and cases have occurred where relief has been in the first instance given in this manner, and the recipients eventually become confirmed paupers. (g) Cases are not wanting to show that pauperism is hereditary—two generations being quite common, and third generations occasionally occur."

It will be seen that in this list "Intemperance" is not given the first place, while, of course, nobody outside the teetotal organisations has even been foolish enough to suggest that moderate drinking is a cause of pauperism. Indiscriminate liquor drinking and indiscriminate charity are mentioned as two of the causes of pauperism and, therefore, if we are going to abolish all drinking on that account we must, by parity of reasoning, abolish charity also.

In dealing with unemployment—which is, of course, the ultimate cause of all pauperism, since no person in paid

employment can be a pauper—the Minority Report says : “ It may be thought that we have given insufficient attention to drunkenness and other forms of personal misconduct as responsible for the failure of men to retain their situations or to get again into employment. We have deliberately subordinated the question of personal character, because in our view, although of vital importance to the method of treatment to be adopted with regard to the individuals in distress, it does not seem to us to be of significance with regard to the existence or the amount of unemployment. . . . When trade is brisk, even the drunken men, the turbulent men, the negligent men, and the men of every kind of personal immorality, so long as they possess the requisite physical vigour, are pretty fully employed. The residuum of unemployables to be found even at such times in distress from want of employment are not the men of bad character or conduct, but those who have by long continued unemployment become incapable of regular labour. When trade slackens some of the men who have work have to be discharged ; presently others must share the same experience, and in the trough of the depression the staff has to be cut down to the lowest possible point. Doubtless the least efficient wage-earners are the first to go, drinkers among the rest, although it is remarkable how great a degree of occasional drunkenness and personal misbehaviour an employer or a foreman puts up with from an expert or docile workman. Doubtless, too, the drunken and improvident workman, when thrown out of work, comes much more quickly into distress than his sober and saving brother. But the fluctuations in the volume of employment and, therefore, the aggregate number of the unemployed in the nation are in no way related to the existence of drunkenness or misconduct among the workmen, and the fluctuations certainly would not be any the less (though the consequent distress would be) if all the men were teetotallers and as thrifty as could be desired.

“ Nor do we find that the unemployed, as a whole, can be described as either drunken or vicious. . . .

“ There is evidence that drinking habits are actually fostered by unemployment. ‘ It seems rather funny,’ deposed a builder’s foreman, ‘ but I think that the more men are out of work the more drunkenness there is.’ ”

If the above considerations do not suffice to indicate the wildness and the injustice, and, therefore, the cruelty of the charge that nearly all the inhabitants of work-houses are there through drink, perhaps a quotation from Mr. John Burns will have the effect. No one will question Mr. Burns’s enthusiasm in the teetotal cause. He has

**Mr. John
Burns on
Pauperism.**

often said from public platforms and from his place in Parliament harsh things about the alcoholic liquor trade and fanatical things about drinking. When, therefore, he went, as President of the Local Government Board, to open a new infirmary for the Wandsworth Union in November, 1910, and took the occasion to make a speech about pauperism, surely he would have repeated the drink-and-pauperism charge if, as a truthful, studious man, he could have seen his way to do so. But these are his words, as reported in the *Times*: "Of the total pauperism 30 per cent. was due to sickness alone and 45 per cent. to age and infirmity."

Speaking at a conference on Infant Mortality at the Caxton Hall, London, on August 4th, 1913, Mr. Burns said:—

"One of the things at which foreign visitors marvelled was the sobriety of London, considering its size. About 40 per cent. of their pauperism, which cost about £18,000,000 a year, was due to widowhood and orphanhood." (*The Times*, August 5th, 1913.)

It will be seen, combining these estimates, that Mr. Burns accounts for more than 100 per cent. of pauperism without reference to drink.

Father Bernard Vaughan has had a good deal of experience among the poor, and he said, on one occasion, "They were told by some that all this poverty was due to drink. What fudge and nonsense people could talk! It was all blithering idiocy. There was not a word of truth in it."

Mr. Charles Booth, an acknowledged authority, in his "Labour and Life of the People," after carefully analysing 4,000 cases of "very poor," found that the causes of their distress were as follows:—

4 per cent. loafers.

14 per cent. attributable to drink and thriftlessness.

27 per cent. due to illness, large families or other misfortunes.

55 per cent. assigned to "questions of employment."

The American experience is not favourable to the view that pauperism is caused by drink; for the paupers in Kansas, under prohibition, increased between 1890 and 1910 from 41.6 to 43.5 per 100,000 of the population. Nor does comparison between Prohibition and Free States help the teetotal doctrine. Thus, according to the 1914 Statistical Abstract of the United States, the percentage of paupers in Prohibitionist Maine in 1910 was 127.3 per 100,000 of the population; whereas in Indiana it was only 115.3, in Pennsylvania 125.3, in Michigan 105.7, and in Illinois 96.1—all these being free States.

X.—PROHIBITION.

The prohibition of the sale and consumption of alcoholic liquors in any particular area or State is an arbitrary act of tyranny which stands self-condemned as a gross violation of individual liberty. It would be thought that a liberty-loving community would fight to the last gasp against any such attempt to regulate by law individual tastes and habits, but nevertheless the main strength of the so-called temperance organisations in this and other countries is being directed towards that goal.

THE CASE FOR PROHIBITION EXAMINED.

Prohibition of the consumption of fermented beverages has two aspects—prohibition as a policy, and fermented beverages as an object of repression. Now, first, prohibition is in itself an evil. The ideal is liberty. But certain things have to be prohibited—murder, for example. Such things have to be prohibited, because they are social evils of so grave a character that orderly society could not exist if they were permitted. In other words, crime must be prohibited. The evil of the denial of liberty is overborne by the necessity, and in the case of crime no decent person feels the loss of the liberty. But so undesirable is prohibition in itself that even with regard to shameful acts the State does not, in most cases, prohibit, if the acts be what are called self-regarding acts. Prohibition, then, is the method which the State employs for checking acts which are harmful to the community, and, with the exception of obvious crimes, it uses this method with great reserve, because it is a denial of liberty, and therefore in itself an evil.

Secondly, is the consumption of fermented beverages the proper subject of this undesirable form of governmental force? Clearly a very strong case must be made out against the use of fermented beverages to justify the application of prohibition to them. We are now concerned with a self-regarding act—an act which is therefore outside the range of State action. It is not a question of drunkenness: a public drunkard is a public nuisance, and the State properly deals with him; but only a tiny proportion of consumers of fermented beverages are drunkards; yet it is proposed to apply prohibition to the ordinary, moderate drinking of the overwhelming majority—a very different proposition.

Fermented beverages are an article of diet. If a man may not eat and drink what he chooses, there is assuredly no liberty in his community. Even if a majority of voters in the State were of opinion that fermented beverages were deleterious, that would be no justification for this majority forcing the minority to abstain from them. There is a current opinion that tea and cigarettes are deleterious ; but we have not yet arrived at the point when anyone proposes to prohibit them. Would anything justify the enactment that the consumption of a certain beverage shall be regarded as a crime against the State ? Just one thing, and one thing only. If the beverage in question possessed such strange properties that all, or most, of those who drank it thereby became bad and dangerous citizens, the State might be justified in adopting this measure of self-protection. And to suggest that beer, or wine, or even potent spirits, possess these properties is, of course, absurd. Not even a rabid teetotaller—and they are capable of a good deal in the way of exaggeration—would make the suggestion. There is, therefore, no “case” for prohibition. The mere fact that excess in the consumption of fermented fluids tends in some cases to turn the drinker into a bad citizen is irrelevant, and could only be relevant if excessive drinkers were the great majority instead of being a small minority.

But the case against prohibition is really stronger than the above arguments indicate, ample though they are to demonstrate the lack of any justification for prohibition. For, in point of fact, we are not dealing with a deleterious drug at all, but with beverages of great value. The world would be poorer without them. Our own country—to confine ourselves to our national beverage—would be poorer without its beer, one of the most healthful drinks which the wit of man has ever devised. It is a gentle stimulant, a tonic, a true food, and most valuable in its by-products. It is rich in vitamines ; and it is, as the “*Lancet*,” for example, has pointed out, a valuable condiment. (See Chap. IV.)

Lord Morley has put the case very clearly in his essay “On Compromise.”

Lord Morley's View. “ Those who have thought most carefully and disinterestedly about the matter are agreed that in advanced societies the expedient course is that no portion of the community should insist on imposing its own will upon any other portion except in matters which are vitally connected with the maintenance of the social union.”

It has been said that there are 3,903 parishes, with a total population of 575,219, in England and Wales where Prohibition is in force, in that there are no licensed houses where

drink can be consumed "on" the premises. But in all these parishes drink can be, and doubtless is, consumed in private houses.

A further explanation of the phenomenon (assuming the facts to be stated correctly) is that there is no public-house within the municipal borders, for the reason that there are plenty just outside sufficiently convenient. Where this is not the case, and also where it is, the absence of public-houses in a parish is often due to the tyrannising fad of the local land-owner.

Mr. J. M. Hogge, M.P., one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Temperance Legislation League, writing in the "Standard" of March 29th, 1915, said :—

Teetotalers against Prohibition. "Prohibition has never been successful anywhere under conditions such as exist in this country. Prohibition has been tried in different parts of the world, particularly in America, but if you compare the density of population in any State which has prohibition with the density here, the fallacy of basing calculations here upon their experience becomes apparent. In North Dakota, for instance, the population is only 50 per square mile.

"Drunkenness is more obvious, and, therefore, more repulsive, in a sparsely populated country; and also people who are not teetotallers will vote readily for prohibition as long as they can get their own supplies. Travelling in Finland I have been struck by the fact that the bulk of the parcels taken from the train at all stations in the prohibition area contained liquor.

"And prohibition does not stop drunkenness. In a town like Portland, Maine—the principal prohibition State in America, with the greatest number of years' experience behind it—arrests for drunkenness range annually from 35 to 70 per thousand of population. In 1911, to take an instance, they numbered 68 per thousand. It is notorious that cases of whisky go to Portland, Maine, from Great Britain, consigned as "barrels of apples"—I have seen them myself. The number of arrests for drunkenness in Portland, Maine, is so high that it really would seem as though one should encourage people to drink to make them temperate."

See further as to Prohibition in America, pp. 118-130.

"The Universe," of May 21st, 1915, reported the views of Father Hays as follows :—

"Speaking at a citizens' meeting at Newcastle, Father Hays, the well-known worker in the cause of temperance, made the statement that after more than twenty years of his life devoted to the cause throughout England and Ireland,

in the United States and Canada, in Australia and New Zealand, he was firmly convinced that repressive legislative measures such as State prohibition were unsuited to this country, and would not make the people permanently and meritoriously temperate."

It may be worth while to quote here the opinion expressed by a Radical paper, which in the ordinary way is by no means friendly to the trade. The "Star" of

A Radical March 30th, 1915, said:—

View. "The Government must walk warily. In

peace no Government could propose total prohibition without instant disaster. This Government would not live a week if it proposed total prohibition in time of peace. . . . The Drink Trade has been established with and by the consent of the nation and the Government, and a vast revenue is drawn from it. Can there be prohibition without compensation? What is to become of the section of the community which subsists on the Drink Trade? Are they all to be ruined in a night? And will the whole nation consent to deprivation of its beer and its wine because workers in shipyards drink whiskey? Beer in this country is what wine is in France—a national beverage, and its effects are harmless compared with the effects of spirits."

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

(I) THE UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.

The chief prohibitionist organisation in this country is the United Kingdom Alliance, which was founded in 1853 to secure the "Total and Immediate Suppression of the Liquor Traffic." The Alliance maintains a central office in London, and has paid agents all over the kingdom, who, in addition to other duties, act as press correspondents.

John Stuart Mill's Opinion of the Alliance.

Quite early in the history of the Alliance John Stuart Mill wrote, in his "Essay on Liberty," the following passage concerning its objects:

Mill and the U.K.A. "Under the name of preventing intemperance, the people of one English colony, and of nearly half the United States, have been interdicted by law from making any use whatever of fermented drinks, except for medical purposes: for prohibition of their sale is, as it is intended to be, prohibition of their use. And though the impracticability of executing the law has caused its repeal in several of the States which had adopted

it, including the one from which it derives its name, an attempt has notwithstanding been commenced, and is prosecuted with considerable zeal by many of the professed philanthropists, to agitate for a similar law in this country. The Association, or 'Alliance' as it terms itself, which has been formed for this purpose, has acquired some notoriety through the publicity given to a correspondence between its secretary and one of the very few English public men who hold that a politician's opinions ought to be founded on principles. . . . The secretary of the Alliance, who would deeply deplore the recognition of any principle which could be wrested to justify bigotry and persecution, undertakes to point out the 'broad and impassable barrier' which divides such principles from those of the Association. 'All matters relating to thought, opinion, conscience, appear to me,' he says, 'to be without the sphere of legislation; all pertaining to social act, habit, relation, subject only to a discretionary power vested in the State itself, and not in the individual, to be within it.' No mention is made of a third class, different from either of these, viz., acts and habits which are not social but individual; although it is to this class, surely, that the act of drinking fermented liquors belongs. Selling fermented liquors, however, is trading, and trading is a social act. But the infringement complained of is not on the liberty of the seller, but on that of the buyer and consumer. Since the State might just as well forbid him to drink wine, as purposely make it impossible for him to obtain it. The secretary, however, says, 'I claim, as a citizen, a right to legislate whenever my social rights are invaded by the social act of another.' And now for the definition of these 'social rights.' 'If anything invades my social rights, certainly the traffic in strong drink does. It destroys my primary right of security by constantly creating and stimulating social disorder. It invades my right of equality, by deriving a profit from the creation of a misery I am taxed to support. It impedes my right to free moral and intellectual development, by surrounding my path with danger, and by weakening and demoralising society, from which I have a right to claim mutual aid and intercourse.' A theory of 'social rights,' the like of which probably never before found its way into distinct language, being nothing short of this—that it is the absolute social right of every individual, that every other individual shall act in every respect exactly as he ought; that whosoever fails thereof in the smallest particular, violates my social right, and entitles me to demand from the legislature the removal of the grievance. So monstrous a principle is far more dangerous than any single interference with liberty; there is no violation of liberty which it would not justify; it acknowledges no right to any freedom

whatever, except perhaps to that of holding opinions in secret, without ever disclosing them: for the moment an opinion which I consider noxious passes any one's lips, it invades all the social rights attributed to me by the Alliance."

The late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is sometimes claimed as a supporter of teetotalism, but a Mr. A. E. Baring, of Bristol, in

**Mr. Joseph
Chamberlain
and the
U.K.A.** a letter to the *Morning Advertiser* of January 19th, 1914, quoted the following condemnation by Mr. Chamberlain of the policy of the United Kingdom Alliance:

"It is now more than twenty years ago that my attention was directed to this subject, and finding then the great organisation of the United Kingdom Alliance professing to have the temperance question at heart, and preparing to deal with it, I joined them as a member and as a subscriber. It is quite true that I did not remain with them very long. I found that their objects were not my objects. I wanted to promote temperance and moderation, they wanted to secure total abolition. I wanted to save the victims of intemperance; they were much more anxious to punish and to ruin all who were engaged in the trade. And I do not hesitate to say that from that time down to the present day the United Kingdom Alliance has been an obstacle to temperance reform. With its great army of paid officers, who may almost be said to have an interest in the continuance of the agitation, they have secured nothing; they have only destroyed the efforts of other men, and hence up to the present time there is no organisation in this country which can show such a barren record for all the money that it has spent. It is altogether a negative record."

The Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, in an article which he contributed to the *Manchester Guardian*, of October 14th, 1912, was quite frank about

Recent Activities. the political character of his Society. He wrote:

"The Alliance is necessarily a political organisation . . . To secure its main aim the Alliance has entered into politics . . . The present policy of the Alliance is then correctly set forth in its first report, which states:

"The specific object and broad constitution of the Alliance preclude it from requiring any pledge or declaration as to the personal habits, private convictions, or religious persuasion. Aiming at a great social reform it is in its agency essentially political, in the widest and best sense of that term, and will draw its allies and pecuniary resources from all sects, parties and conditions in the State."

In 1912 the Alliance inaugurated a special campaign against freedom, and endeavoured to raise a special fund of £25,000 to provide speakers and writers to create a bogus demand for drastic licensing legislation.

The Annual Report for 1913-14, published in the *Alliance News*, of October 1914, contains the following :

"During the year a number of your superintendents have done useful work in newspaper correspondence, and your Committee are directing special attention to this all important branch of the work."

They are assisted by the *Alliance Press Agency*, with regard to which the Annual Report for 1914-15, published in October, 1915, said : "During the year the *Alliance Press Agency* has continued its useful operations in the supply of important items of information to Temperance and general newspapers and press correspondents both at home and abroad." The "items of information" consist mainly of distorted and misleading statistics which are circulated to prejudice public opinion.

In the 1916 Report we find the Alliance in the full run of its efforts to exploit the War on behalf of Prohibition. Extracts are given from the official report of the National Prohibition Campaign, whence it appears that on May 26th, 1916, the Hon. Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance and the Hon. Secretary of the National British Women's Temperance Association had convened a conference of representatives of various organisations working for Temperance in England and Wales." This conference was held at Caxton Hall on June 6th, 1916, and demanded the "prohibition of the manufacture, import, export and common sale of intoxicating liquors during the war and for six months afterwards." It evidently thought that the country would require working up to this pitch, and it was further resolved therefore that "a National Campaign by means of Conferences, Memorials and other suitable methods be forthwith inaugurated and that a fund be raised to defray the necessary expenses." The Campaign, we learn, then got to work, and circulated "nearly four millions of specially prepared leaflets with the Memorial printed at the foot" besides 150,000 copies of the Campaign booklet. The signatures to the Memorial reached 2,020,000 names.

In 1917 the report (for the year ended September 30th—the 65th annual report of the Alliance—) begins with an expression of "disappointment that the Government has deliberately refused to prohibit the manufacture and common sale of intoxicating liquors during the remainder of the war and

during the not less critical years of demobilisation." This last reference to the demobilisation period forms the theme of a section in the Report in which an indication is given of the insincerity of the war-time prohibition cry. That cry is based upon the assertion that for some reason or other, Prohibition is necessary for winning the war ; but such arguments lose any force they might have when we are told in the next breath that we must have prohibition when the war is won, because of temptations to "men returning from the trenches, whose nerves have been racked for months by hardship and war strain."

It is perfectly clear that the war is only used as a stalking horse, though it has captured a number of sympathisers who otherwise would not have been obtained. What the United Kingdom Alliance wants is Prohibition all the time, and to do it justice, the Alliance does not hide its aim, for in each of its reports it reprints its "Declaration of Principles," of which there are seven, all repeating the same assertion as that in the seventh, which runs as follows :—

"That rising above class, sectarian or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance."

(2) STRENGTH OF BRITAIN MOVEMENT.

Next to the United Kingdom Alliance in importance, and even more conspicuous for a time, was the so-called Strength of Britain Movement. The personnel of the leaders of this movement is rather difficult to follow as it has been changed from time to time. The most prominent amongst them were Mr. Henry Randall, Mr. Angus Watson, Mr. Arthur Mee and Dr. C. W. Saleeby.

The first notable outbreak of this agitation took the form of a memorial on behalf of War Time Prohibition, to which a large number of signatures was obtained. Many of these signatories were well known teetotallers, and their names did not therefore add fresh weight to the agitation ; of the other names it is uncertain how many represented a real desire for prohibition, for within a few weeks of the publication of the names one of the signatories, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, wrote an article in the *Times* (November 28th, 1916) in which he advocated "Light wines and beers as a safety valve"; while another signatory, Professor Waller, wrote a letter to the *Times* on the food value of beer (quoted on p. 42) which is not at all in tune with prohibitionist arguments. It is probable that to some extent these instances are typical.

The movement was announced as an effort to assist this country in winning the war, but it is worth noting that many of the signatories had been associated with the Small Navy agitation and similar ideas, while one of them, Mr. Arnold Bennett, wrote in the *Daily News* a short time after (January 26th, 1916), "I am not one of those who would regard an indecisive peace as an unmitigated disaster."

The truth appears to be that whereas a number of more or less distinguished gentlemen, whose patriotism and desire to win the war are unquestionable, were attracted by the patriotic flavour imported into the agitation, the real engineers of the movement simply used the war as a stalking horse for advancing their prohibition fad.

The Strength of Britain Movement had a curious development in connection with industrial alcohol, which was described in one of its leaflets as "one aspect of the constructive policy of the Strength of Britain Movement." This phrase appears at the head of a printed report of a speech by Mr. Robert Tweedy of Dublin, in which he advocated the turning of breweries and distilleries into manufactories of industrial alcohol.

Towards the end of 1916 the Strength of Britain Movement circularised Members of Parliament with misleading statements regarding beer, and shouted the same sort of misleading statements in cleverly produced advertisements in the press, and posters on hoardings throughout the country. Vigorous replies were made, with the result that the movement gradually died down. Its end appears to have been accelerated by schism within its ranks, Mr. Arthur Mee and others of its supporters withdrawing themselves from it. In his letter of resignation, addressed to the secretary (Mr. H. Stephens Richardson), and published in the *Daily Mail* of July 25th, 1917, Mr. Arthur Mee said : "I am sorry I cannot remain a member of a committee which, in my opinion, is not keeping faith with the public and has ceased to serve the cause for which it has collected very considerable funds. . . . It has thus early in its career suffered the fate of many societies which have become so wrapped up in themselves that, forgetting the purpose of their being, they have settled down to regard the collecting of subscriptions for their own maintenance as the all-important thing. . . . Again and again we have insisted that our interest in the work is pure beyond reproach, and that nobody profits by it. Every pound that we have collected has been subscribed on that basis, and I can find no words to express the distress and amazement with which I have discovered that this is not true. . . .

"I consider it inconsistent with the dignity of any movement, quite apart from its professions of disinterestedness.

that men should sit on its executive committee, arrange public meetings under its own auspices, and undertake to represent the committee at these meetings for very substantial fees."

In the Spring of 1918 we find those who are left, apparently a much diminished crowd, appealing for subscriptions, but the public appeared by this time to have had enough of this sham patriotic movement.

In spite of the frantic efforts of these people, Mr. Mee and others, the Movement died down outside the ordinary teetotal ranks, it being evident that there was no need for it, either from the point of view of temperance, or for the conservation of the nation's food supplies.

The Strength of Britain Movement was one of those outbursts of engineered fanaticism which sometimes achieve a temporary success. At one time it looked as though it was going to achieve its object; and it may be that it was not altogether unsuccessful. It may be that some of the restrictions upon output which were made in 1917 were not unconnected with the noise made by the Strength of Britain agitators; but that at any rate represents the full extent of the success of one of the noisiest, and perhaps one of the most mischievous, movements of recent years. That it was so regarded by those who were best able to judge may be gauged by the fact that its principal publication, *Defeat*, written by Mr. Arthur Mee, was forbidden by the Army Council to be exported from the Country.

PROHIBITION AT WORK.

(I) IN THE UNITED STATES.

Prohibition has been and is being tried in the United States on a large scale, but according to the testimony of impartial observers, it has resulted in open evasion of the liquor law, breeding contempt for all law, secret drinking, and the manufacture and sale of vile liquors.

The following is a List of the Prohibition States:—

Alabama.	
Arkansas	... (Bone Dry), January 24th, 1917.
Arizona	... (Bone Dry), 1916.
Colorado.	
Georgia	... (Bone Dry), March 28th, 1917.
Idaho ...	... (Bone Dry), 1915. (Effective January 1st, 1916.)
Indiana	... (April 2nd, 1918—Bone Dry.)
Iowa ...	... (Bone Dry), 1917.
Kansas	... (Bone Dry), March, 1917.

Maine.		
Michigan	...	(Bone Dry), April 30th, 1918.
Mississippi	...	(Bone Dry), March 28th, 1918.
Montana	...	(Bone Dry), December 31st, 1918.
Nebraska	...	(Bone Dry), May 1st, 1917.
New Hampshire		May 1st, 1918.
North Carolina.		
North Dakota		(Bone Dry), July 1st, 1917.
Oklahoma	...	(Bone Dry), May, 1917.
Oregon	...	(Bone Dry), November 7th, 1916.
South Carolina		(Bone Dry), April, 1917.
South Dakota		(Bone Dry), July 1st, 1917.
Tennessee	...	(Bone Dry), March 1st, 1917.
Utah	...	(Bone Dry), August 1st, 1917.
Virginia.		
Washington	...	(Bone Dry), June 10th, 1917.
West Virginia	...	(Bone Dry), 1917.
New Mexico	...	October 1st, 1918.
Texas	...	June 26th, 1918.

Maine was the first of the States to adopt prohibition—in 1846, and the subsequent history of the movement up to

1893 is thus described by Ernest H. Cherrington

Maine. in the official history of the Anti-Saloon League of America. He says :—

" During the half century before 1893, eighteen States had adopted either statutory or constitutional prohibition, with the result that eleven had repealed the law before prohibition had been given even a chance for a fair trial, while the prohibitory laws in the remaining States had been so poorly enforced that they had practically become dead letters, there being no effort whatever in certain States to give any attention to the enforcement of prohibition."

The testimony to the abject failure of prohibition in the State of Maine is so overwhelming that the evidence would fill a good sized volume. It will be sufficient, however, to quote a few authoritative opinions :—

The *Scotsman*, in an article published on September 14th, 1911, thus described the position :—

" In Maine the law has long been a dead letter. This does not mean merely that people in that State may easily buy and consume spirituous liquor ; there is a tax actually imposed by the Internal Revenue authorities upon the liquor sold, and regularly collected by the officials. Such a state of things is manifestly dishonest. It amounted, in the words of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, ' to the open and shameless violation of the Prohibition Law, long winked at,' which has latterly become ' an intolerable scandal.' "

" Sooner or later the divergence between the letter of the law and the habits of the people had to be adjusted. The Rev. S. F. Pearson, a Gospel Temperance Reformer of large activities, secured election as Sheriff over both the Republican and Democratic candidates in 1901-1902. His own public statements are on record, and they show that he found on his election in 1900 that 'there are 233 licensed (*i.e.*, permitted) saloons and drug stores in the city of Portland to-day.' Portland is the chief city of the State of Maine. 'This number,' he added, 'is run openly, and altogether there are 416 rum-sellers.' And later Sheriff Pearson confessed, 'We found in Portland 230 places paying for the Internal Revenue Tax receipt.' Another effort at the enforcement of the law was made by Sheriff Pennell, in 1903-5. The common and disreputable liquor shops were raided and shut up; but hotels and bottling establishments were given certain facilities, and even saloons, on payment of an irregular licence fee and submission to supervision, were permitted to sell liquor. Sheriff Pennell made no concealment in his public speeches of the fact that he sanctioned illegality. 'So long as I am Sheriff of this county (Portland) I will use the same discretionary powers in the enforcement of the liquor law as I do in the enforcement of any other law. You know the impossibility of enforcement of suppression. I feel,' he concluded, 'it is my duty to make the traffic as harmless as possible.' In 1905 Senator Sturgis, backed by the Republican party, induced the State Legislature to pass an Act superseding the powers of the Sheriffs of the counties in their interpretation and application of the liquor law. A Commission took over the duty of administering the law. It drove Sheriff Pennell, who was nothing if not honest, into the camp of those who would repeal the law altogether rather than have the system of 'pocket peddlers,' 'kitchen bars,' and 'irregular drinking clubs' revived. After nine months' experience of strict enforcement of the Sturgis Act—we quote again from Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell—'the arrests for drunkenness in Portland amounted to 1,525, or 28 per 1,000 of the population, a ratio which is nearly three times as high as the ratio in Liverpool, and slightly more than three times as high as the ratio in London.' Such a state of things in the chief city of a State which has for over sixty years by law prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor requires no comment."

In September, 1906, Mr. Bjorn Schuman, Burgomaster of Ekenas and member of the Finnish Diet, Mr. Allan Sillacus, of Helsingfors, Finland, and Mr. H. J. Bostrom, Jurist and Secretary to the Finnish Senate, visited Portland, Maine, to study the liquor problem generally and prohibition in particular

and before leaving they gave an interview to a representative of the *Portland Eastern Argus* (September 29th, 1906) in which they said :

" That Maine, beyond any other State in the Union, has drawn our attention is natural, because in Maine there has for more than half a century existed prohibitory laws against the sale of intoxicating drinks, and here the results must surely show clear proofs.

" We have seen the individual private importation of liquors, and the club institutions with their private lockers. We have, in company with the county officials, visited more than a dozen illegal sales-places, where beer and whisky were confiscated in the most unexpected and peculiar places. Basements, walls, roofs, and out-of-the-way places are used as sales-places and store-rooms.

" We have had an opportunity to buy different kinds and qualities of liquors, and now we have with us a remembrance consisting of a battery of flat bottles of the illegally sold stuff that we purchased for twenty-five cents each, and some from specially nice places cost us seventy-five cents.

" We have furthermore seen and heard how children of different ages at the approaching of the sheriffs would assist the illegals by shouting, ' Blow, blow, skiddoo,' to warn against the coming of these officials, and we found that liquor could also be obtained from these children wherever they were together in a group. Girls and grown women are also largely in the field where illegal sales go on.

" This experiment of ours in the lower quarters showed plainly that our coming displeased the crowds and that prohibition did not live in their hearts. And we must say what we saw was so shocking that not only the run in the dark up and down stairs, in the cellars, and on the roofs, in the out-houses, &c., but the still more psychological pressure that this misery perpetrated upon us, who never saw anything like this before, although two of us have acted as judge and police officer, affected us as a profoundly saddening experience.

" How can those hundreds of children that now are partly used in this vile liquor business and partly act as warners against the authorities, grow to be law-abiding, sober, and useful members of this great free Union ?

" That is one point we can't understand, and neither can we understand how people who want to provide morality for their country, and have seen what we saw, can wish to uphold a law that in such a way abuses themselves and their offspring.

" It has been said the upholding of this law does not germinate from morality, but that it springs from a political source.

" We must believe this, for morality cannot have anything to do with such a condition that only exists on the outside.

" The practical information, as you see it with your own eyes, is the most important. This we have obtained and compared with what we have seen in other cities that we have visited. We have visited saloons in Baltimore, New York, New Haven, Hartford, Providence, Boston, and Manchester, and we can freely state that we have seen more drunks in Portland than all those places put together."

The result of the poll taken in Maine in 1911 on the question of the retention or the repeal of the Prohibition Law was first given as a majority of 26 for repeal in a total vote of 120,948, but as the result of a recount the *Daily News*, Bangor, Maine, of November 7th, 1911, announced that there was a majority of 758 votes for the retention of prohibition.

Mr. Arthur Sherwell, M.P., whose earlier views on Prohibition are quoted in the extract given above, dealing with the moral of the poll in the *Daily Chronicle* of November 18th, 1911, wrote :—

" The result of the vote from every point of view, and not least from the point of view of temperance, is eminently unsatisfactory, and it unquestionably creates a position of great difficulty and embarrassment for the authorities. A majority of 700 in a total poll of 120,000 is clearly not a sufficient mandate for a drastic law which previous experience has conclusively shown cannot be enforced successfully in the urban districts of the State. Prior to September the friends of the law, despite the difficulties of enforcement, could claim that it had behind it the authority of 70,783 State votes out of a total of 94,594 cast in 1884 when the law was last submitted to a Referendum of the people. Now, with the State voters evenly divided, and with the verdict of the so-called ' cities ' overwhelmingly given against the law, successful enforcement of Prohibition on a State basis would appear to be hopeless.

" The law unquestionably is widely supported in the rural districts of the State, and there its enforcement will continue to be comparatively easy. The recent vote has, however, emphasised in a very remarkable way the hostile sentiment in the towns. There are altogether 20 so-called ' cities ' in the State of Maine, most of them very small and only one with a population exceeding 30,000. Of these 20 ' cities ' 19 voted for repeal of the law and the remaining one gave a majority of 96 in favour of retaining the law. The total number of votes cast in the 20 ' cities ' was only 41,623, of which 27,053 were cast in favour of repeal and 14,570 against. The majority for repeal was therefore 12,483."

In connection with this 1911 poll the following, written by the Hon. Cyrus W. Davis, who at the time was Secretary of State for Maine, appeared in the *Burton Daily Mail* of December 6th, 1916, and is worth repetition.

"Fraud at the Polls."

" This slender margin afforded cold comfort to the friends of the law, as the secret-ballot provisions were grossly violated in many towns of the State. The writer, at that time Secretary of State, found that in some towns election warrants were not posted; results of voting were not announced in open town meeting; the polls were closed but opened again to allow delinquents to vote . . . ; totals were reversed in two sets of returns; and in one case more votes were cast than there were voters in the precinct. The result of this election, if it proved anything, proved that the electorate of Maine were honestly wide apart in their views as to the value of the law. Eight of the 16 counties of the State voted against the law, and the cities, by a majority of 10,000, voted against it. With the population in character and growth but slightly changed since 1884, 60,095 voted against the law, as against 23,412 in 1884.

"300 per cent. more Drunkenness under Prohibition."

" What of present conditions in Maine? . . . At the close of a long and busy session of the Legislature of 1913, when the weary members were anxious to return to their homes, the Government, one day, laid before that honourable body voluminous evidence setting forth the rank nullification of the law in the county of Cumberland . . . with the request that the Legislature investigate, to the end that the Sheriff be deposed. Following this move on the part of the Governor, evidence was quickly produced setting forth similar conditions of nullification in four other counties of the State, and with the request that the investigation be enlarged. The investigation began, the Sheriffs were haled into the court, and the evidence under oath showing the wide-open condition of the counties was given, with the result that three Sheriffs were removed by address of the Legislature; one resigned rather than face the evidence, and still another escaped through the providence of a smallpox scare and quarantine . . . In place of the deposed sheriffs four avowed Prohibition sheriffs were appointed by the Governor. Now what is the condition? These four sheriffs have been zealous during all the succeeding months of their encumbrance in trying to enforce the law.

"Kitchen Dives" and "Pocket Peddlers."

"In the interests of exact truth, however, let it be also said the most they have been able to accomplish has been to force the more open selling of liquor into new channels and to drive the trade in the lighter and less harmful drinks, like beer and ale, to the consumption of hard distilled liquors, which are now being more or less freely sold in drug store, in kitchen dives, by the pocket peddler, in social club, and through the express and mail. . . . The total number of arrests in Portland, the storm centre of Cumberland County in 1901, was 2,090, and in 1912 6,045. Taking the estimate of the State prison inspectors that 75 per cent. of these arrests were for drunkenness, we find that under Prohibition, while the population has increased 8,400, or 16 per cent., in the ten years, drunkenness has increased 300 per cent. in the same length of time.

"Arrests of Children."

" . . . The one alarming feature of the report of the police matron of the city of Portland for the past year is the increase of arrests of children under 21 years of age to a total of 555, or 85 more than in the preceding year.

"The writer has press clippings recording seizures during the past six months (and in less than six counties of the State) aggregating more than 6,000 gallons of liquors, in which distilled liquors predominate. He knows also of his own knowledge that large consignments of liquor find their way into the clubrooms, billed one day to one member and another day to another member, thus keeping the club beyond the Webb-Kenyon law."

The same author (Hon. C. W. Davis), writing on the views of the 60,000 opponents of State Wide Prohibition in the *Burton Daily Mail* of December 11th, 1916, said :—

"They arraign not only its moral, but its physical havoc as well. They point to the substitution of Jamaica ginger, extracts, essences, cider, home-made brews, alcohol splits, hard liquors of the vilest grade (all of high per cent. alcohol), and drugs, which have been substituted for the lighter and harmless drinks like beer and ale, where prohibition has been honestly attempted ; and they instance the sworn testimony under oath of sheriffs whose seizures from the kitchen bar and pocket-peddler have been largely of this class of drinks. They point to the increasing drunkenness among the youth of the State, to the free drinking of hard liquors on the trains and in clubs and to the increasing amount of divorce and crime."

In a pamphlet issued in 1912, entitled "The Latest 'Criticism' of the Gothenburg System," Mr. Sherwell quotes the following figures showing the volume of drunkenness in

prohibition towns in order to sustain an argument against the extremists :

" Let us take Portland, the chief city in the Prohibition State of Maine, where, as we can testify from personal experience, the police are slow to exercise their powers of arrest in cases of simple drunkenness. During the last 20 years the arrests for drunkenness in Portland have ranged from 35 per 1,000 up to 70 per 1,000. In 1910 they were 57 per 1,000, and last year they actually rose to 70 per 1,000 inhabitants—figures that are much higher than the arrests or prosecutions for the same offence in either Gothenburg or Stockholm, and enormously higher than the figures for the English towns."

The number of persons confined in penal institutions in Maine increased from 77.4 per 100,000 population in 1890, to 98.3 in 1910.

Representative Underwood, of Alabama, speaking in the House of Representatives during the debate on the Hobson Kansas. Prohibition resolution, in December, 1914, referred to the results of prohibition in Kansas. The following is a summary of some of the facts which he adduced :—

Twenty-seven States in which liquor is sold lawfully have a divorce rate lower than that of Kansas, while only thirteen licence States have a higher divorce rate than Kansas. More divorces were granted in Kansas on account of drunkenness of the husband in the period between 1887 and 1906 than in any one of twenty-five States in which liquor was sold under licence. The average death rate by violence, exclusive of suicide, was lower for cities investigated in twenty-nine licence States, according to 1911 data, than in Kansas cities, and in only three licence States was it higher. The average death rate from suicide was higher in Kansas than in twenty of the States investigated and lower than eleven. The annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency showed that the annual savings of individual depositors in Kansas were lower than in twenty-seven licence States and higher than in nine licence States ; only four prohibition States could claim a higher average than Kansas. Thirty-eight States in which liquor was sold lawfully had a higher percentage of church members than Kansas.

Mr. Arthur Paterson, Secretary of the Social Welfare Association, expressed his views in the *Daily Express* of April 1st, 1915, as follows :—

" Prohibition in Kansas, where I lived both before and after it became the law, was followed by a condition of the most frightful immorality."

The report of the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1913 shows that whereas in the country as a whole there is one person in every nine with a savings account, in Kansas only 1 in 87 had such an account.

The same report shows average savings per depositor for the whole country 439 dollars; for Kansas 231 dollars.

The following extract from a letter from Canon Gamble in the *Times* of May 18th, 1918, bears upon the same point:

"SIR,

"As the Bishop of Willesden takes so much interest in the statistics of American States, and seems inclined to dwell on the superior moral condition of those which have adopted prohibition, he may like to know that, while in all America, the 'ratio of divorces to marriages' from 1887 to 1906 was 1 to 13½, in the 'dry' State of Kansas, which the Bishop holds up for our special admiration and imitation, it was 1 to 9, while some of the other 'dry' States show an even worse record."

The police records of Kansas City, Kansas, where the sale of liquor is forbidden, show one arrest for drunkenness to every 48 inhabitants in 1913, which compares with one in 54 in Omaha, Nebraska, where the sale of liquor is not forbidden.

Census Bulletin 119 (1910), which deals with the insane in the various States, shows that Kansas has 172.2 insane persons in her institutions per 100,000 inhabitants, while Nebraska had only 167 per 100,000 at the close of the census period.

In North Dakota, under prohibition, the number of persons in penal institutions increased from 53.1 per 100,000 population in 1890 to 63.6 in 1910.

In the States Generally. A list of "alcoholic patent medicines" issued (June 6th, 1914) by the United States Internal Revenue Department shows that there are manufactured in the United States 287 preparations which, under the guise of "tonics," "stomach bitters," "rheumatic cures," "nerve restoratives," "kidney cures," "cordials," "dyspepsia cures," and different "extracts," contain variously from 30 to 90 per cent. of alcohol.

The United States Internal Revenue Department specifically describes this list of 287 concoctions as "alcoholic medicinal preparations which have been examined by this office and held to be insufficiently medicated to render them unfit for use as a beverage." The average proprietary medicines which may have some genuine medicinal value contain about 10 to possibly 30 per cent. of alcohol.

Some examples of the high percentages of alcohol in the

preparations given on this list will show why the United States Internal Revenue Department has branded them as alcoholic patent medicines.

"Ducro's Alimentary Elixir" has 23 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Katarno" contains $31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of alcohol.
 "Ferro-China Bissleri" reveals 30 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Bismarck Laxative Bitters," 39 per cent of alcohol.
 "Duffy's Malt Whisky" contains 44 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Angostura Aromatic Tincture Bitters," 46 per cent. of alcohol.

"Underberg's Boonekamp Maag Bitters" discloses 50 per cent. of alcohol.

There are other patent medicines not included in the foregoing list issued by the Internal Revenue Department, which have considerable percentages of alcohol, and all of which are freely sold in "dry" territory. Some of them as registered in the Department of Agriculture under Act of Congress requiring their alcoholic contents to be stated, are:—

"Electric Brand Bitters," 18 per cent. of alcohol. .
 "Peruna," 18 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound," 18 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Rexall's Rheumatic Remedy," 18 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Wine of Cardui," 20 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Paine's Celery Compound," 20 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Hankin's Remedy," 22 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Hall's Great Discovery," 43 per cent. of alcohol.
 "Hamlin's Wizard Oil," 65 per cent. of alcohol.

In local option or prohibition territory, the sale of even so light a beverage as beer, which contains only from three to five per cent. of alcohol, is prohibited. Yet the sale of hundreds of varieties of patent medicines containing from five to nineteen times more alcohol than beer is unmolested, and these concoctions can be freely bought in drug shops and rural general merchandise stores.

The *Journal of the Outdoor Life*, the organ of the National Anti-Tuberculosis Association, published in 1915 the results of an investigation which showed that out of 963 householders in one of the counties of the prohibition State of North Carolina 518, or 54 per cent., pleaded guilty to taking patent medicines.

The U.S. Bureau of Chemistry, in an analysis of seven fruit extracts shipped by the Polk and Calder Drug Co., of Troy, N.Y., found that they variously contained from 21.47 to 54.75 per cent. of alcohol and that all were adulterated. The company entered a plea of guilty and was fined \$50.

A "Pure Extract Turpeneless Messina Lemon" shipped by the Warner-Jenkinson Co., of St. Louis, into Iowa, contained 43.28 per cent. of alcohol and was adulterated. A "Soluble Orange Extract," sold by the same concern, showed 38 per cent. of alcohol, was artificially coloured and contained little or no flavouring derived from orange oil. On May 12th, 1914, the company pleaded guilty and was fined \$20.

The Warner-Jenkinson Co., of St. Louis, shipped "Extract of Cloves" and "Extract of Wintergreen" into the prohibition State of Tennessee. Analysis by the U.S. Bureau of Chemistry showed that the "Extract of Cloves" contained 45.30 per cent. of alcohol, and only 0.74 per cent. of clove oil, while the "Extract of Wintergreen" contained 45.31 per cent. of alcohol and only 0.57 per cent. of oil of wintergreen. Upon a plea of guilty the company was fined \$25.

The subject of drug-taking as a result of the prohibition of alcoholic liquors is referred to by Dr. E. H. Williams in a book entitled "Alcohol Hygiene and Legislation." He says:—"It has long been held by the advocates of tolerant liquor legislation that an attempt to suppress liquor traffic always results in the increase in the abuse of other forms of narcotics." He then quotes the following figures to prove that this contention is justified. In New York, without prohibition, there was, according to the last official reports, one insane drug taker to every 386 cases of other forms of insanity in the insane hospitals, which compares with the following proportions in prohibition States:—Oklahoma 1 to 9, Maine 1 to 76, Georgia 1 to 42, Kansas 1 to 86, North Carolina State Hospital 1 to 84, Eastern State Hospital, Tennessee, 1 to 74. He concludes as follows:—"In other words, these thinly populated prohibition States have from four to forty times as many insane drug takers as unregenerate New York."

At times the evasion of the prohibition law is even more glaring, as will be seen from the following story told by Sir Thomas Dewar, in the *Times* of April 1st, 1915. He wrote:—

"Once when travelling through a prohibition State I tried the conductor of the Pullman-car very hard for some whisky. But the answer was, 'No, boss; can't do it. We are in a prohibition State, and all the bars are locked up.' At length, weary of being worried, he informed me that I might get it at the store at the next stopping place. I did get it.

"Going into the store I boldly asked for a bottle of whisky. 'Have you a doctor's certificate?' was the query. 'No.' 'Then I can't sell you any; but I guess some of our cholera mixture will about fix you.' The assistant then, explaining what excellent stuff it was, wrote on a label 'Cholera Mixture.'

A wine glassful to be taken every two hours, or oftener if required.'

" This was put on the side of a quart bottle, on the other side of which was a very familiar label to me, for the mixture happened to be a bottle of my own whisky ! "

Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour and the most powerful and respected leader which any country possesses has vigorously opposed Prohibition. In the early weeks of **Labour and Prohibition—1918** he made a powerful address before the **Mr. Gompers.** Joint Legislative Committee at Albany in New York, and the following are one or two characteristic excerpts from that speech.

" The question of imposing not only by law, but by Constitutional Amendment, a prohibition of the normal habits of the great mass of our people, is not only injurious, but dangerous in the extreme."

" Some may say, is liquor drinking, then, a right? The answer is, the exercise of the normal activities of a human being, the citizens of our country and of our States, is the exercise of a right, and because there may be here and there a very small number of people who abuse that right is no reason why the right of the masses of the people should be denied to them by law, or particularly by amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

" If you can by law enact prohibition; if you can enact a Constitutional Amendment for prohibition, you can go on boozing all you want to, but not in the open. You can acquire all the other vile habits which are used by many people as a substitute for alcoholic beverages when they are denied the opportunity of getting them."

" In all my life I have never seen such drunken men as I have seen in dry territory. In a campaign which the labour movement in this country conducted in a district in Maine in 1906, I think, the headquarters of the Congressional candidate we were fighting was loaded down with booze, dispensed from that headquarters with a generosity that no five-cent gin mill ever dispensed in New York City in the early days."

The beer consumption in later years has been as follows :—

AMERICAN BARRELS.

1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
65,245,544	66,105,897	59,766,689	60,817,379	55,558,454

The per capita consumption of all intoxicating liquors in the United States in 1870 was 7.7 gallons; in 1890 it had grown to 15.54 gallons; and in 1910 to 21.86 gallons, in spite of prohibition.

In view of some misapprehension as to the position in regard to beer in the United States during the War period the following statement may be useful.

By Proclamation of the President on November 26th, 1917, the alcoholic content of fermented liquors produced in the United States was limited to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of alcohol by weight (equal to what in this country would be described as 6 per cent. of proof spirit) so far as lager, the bulk of the beer produced, is concerned, the restrictions not applying to ale and porter, of which the alcoholic content may continue to be higher. The proclamation also ordered that the amount of grain or other food materials to be used in brewing in the year 1918 must be reduced to 70 per cent. of the materials so used in each corresponding quarter of 1917. Yet it was said by teetotal speakers from America that popular sentiment in that country was "gravely concerned over Great Britain's continuance of the liquor 'traffic' during the war."

The position is shown in the following table:—

—	United Kingdom.	United States of America.
Output of beer—	English barrels.*	American barrels.*
Pre-war, 1913-14	36,165,000	66,189,473
Latest figures year ended December 31, 1917	16,133,800	55,558,454
Reduction of material to be used in 1918 as compared with pre-war year ..	Per cent. 55	Per cent. 30
Alcoholic content stated in proof spirit—		
Pre-war	9†	—
1918	5½	6‡

As regards distilling, the manufacture of beverage spirits long ago ceased in this country. In America it ceased only on January 1st, 1918. The sale and consumption of spirits in America are no more forbidden than is the case in this country.

(2) IN CANADA.

The forms of legislative restriction as exhibited in Canada are Prohibition, the Canada Temperance Act, and Local Veto or Local Prohibition. High licence is also a feature of Canadian licensing legislation.

* An American barrel is $\frac{7}{3}$ of an English barrel.

† Over. ‡ Lager only.

The following particulars are from the official Canadian Year Books :—

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR IN CANADA.

Year ending—	Spirits.	Malt Liquors.	Wine.
March—	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
1881 .. ..	.922	2,293	.099
1891 .. ..	.754	3,790	.111
1901 .. ..	.757	4,680	.090
1911 .. ..	.948	5,999	.114
1912	1,030	6,598	.114
1913	1,112	7,005	.131
1914	1,061	7,200	.124
1915	0,872	6,071	.095
1916	0,745	4,95	.062

The following figures give the convictions for drunkenness :

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1901	12,727	1909	31,105
1902	13,324	1910	34,068
1903	16,532	1911	41,379
1904	18,895	1912	53,171
1905	21,621	1913	60,975
1906	25,110	1914	60,007
1907	29,802	1915	41,161
1908	31,089		

The following is an extract from the Canadian Year Book, 1916-17 at p. 681.

Recent Temperance and Prohibition Acts.—Practical **Legislation** prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors, for **Prohibition**, excepting for medical and scientific purposes, is now in force in all provinces except Quebec.

The New Brunswick (Ontario) 1916 and Manitoba (1916) Acts, which are very similar, take the form of licensing Acts, but are “intended to prohibit and shall prohibit transactions in liquor.” Intoxicating liquors may be sold for export only, and may be consumed only in private dwelling houses. The Alberta (1916 and 1917) and British Columbia (1916) Acts provide that vendors may be licensed to sell liquors for medical, scientific, &c., purposes, but that no other liquor shall be kept for sale, or kept elsewhere than in a private dwelling house, excepting for export. A British Columbia Act (1917) orders that the Prohibition Act shall come into force on October 1st, 1917. In Saskatchewan an Act of 1917 repeals the Liquor Licence Act of 1915 and confines the sale of intoxicating liquors to physicians and druggists, to whom permits may be issued. Under another chapter brewers or dis-

tillers licensed by the Dominion Government, but no one else, may keep liquors for export. The Prince Edward Island Acts (1917) make provision for the better enforcement of the existing prohibition law. In Quebec, under an Act of 1916, the number of licences to be allowed in each city in the province is to be reduced, hotel bars are to be prohibited after May 1, 1918, treating is prohibited, increased duties are to be paid on licences and limitations are put on the quantities of liquor which may be kept and sold by druggists.

The "Times" correspondent in Toronto cabled in June, 1918, that the inspector of the Ontario Licence Board for

**Liquor in
"Dry"
Provinces.** Northern Ontario had discovered an attempt to smuggle liquor into the province inside plaster of Paris pedestals. Dr. H. H. Moorhouse, of Toronto, had been convicted on four charges of violating the Ontario Temperance Act and fined £240. In 11 days he had issued 1,274 prescriptions for whisky, and for each had charged 4s.

(3) IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA.

In 1908 Mr. Alfred Carson was requested by the Premier of Western Australia to conduct an official inquiry into the working of the liquor laws of other Australian States, and in due course his report was presented to the Legislative Assembly of Western Australia. The following extracts are instructive:—

"The social reformer has still a right to expect that the Drink Bill of a country, 51.2 per cent. of whose electors voted 'No Licence' in 1905, and 52 per cent. of whose electors voted 'No Licence' in 1908, as was the case in New Zealand, would, at least, reflect in these latter years soberer habits on the part of the people. As it does nothing of the kind, the inference is surely that the 'No Licence' vote, successful as it has been in blotting out licences, and possibly diminishing to some extent the amount of drinking in the so-called Prohibition districts, has not appreciably, if at all, influenced the habits of the New Zealand people as a whole. Clearly since the Drink Bill advances there must be more drinking in the homes of the people, or in the licensed houses remaining, or in both."

"As for the crime statistics of 'No Licence' districts, these certainly go to show that convictions for drunkenness have a decided tendency to diminish, but strangely enough graver offences do not exhibit a like tendency. This is especially true in the case of Invercargill, as the following table indicates:—

—				Licence, 1905-1906.	No Licence 1907-1908.
Criminal offences	..	..	..	338	368
Drunkenness	..	..	..	145	86
Affiliation	..	..	..	13	21
Prohibition orders	..	..	..	66	43
Lunacy	..	..	..	13	21
Procuring liquor while prohibited	..	..	..	3	10
Sly-grog convictions	..	..	..	1	3
Theft	..	..	..	21	71
Assault	..	..	..	16	4
Indecency	..	..	..	2	4
Indecent language	..	..	..	12	7

"The figures for Ashburton, though not so striking, tell much the same story, as the following selection of typical headings shows:—

"Number of persons convicted or committed from July 1st 1903, to June 30th, 1905:—

—					Before No Licence.	Under No Licence.
Theft	..	..	..	..	24	31
Wrecking	..	..	..	..	4	1
Burglary	..	..	..	..	—	10
Breaches of peace	..	..	..	..	49	59
Drunkenness	..	..	..	..	175	43
Obscene language	..	..	..	..	7	3
Selling liquors without licences	..	..	..	..	1	21
Breaches of railway by-laws	..	..	..	..	11	25
Breaches of school attendance	..	..	..	..	33	22

"These figures do not prove that the increase of serious crime which they indicate is the fruit of 'No Licence.' It is fair, however, that they should be put forward, since it is so frequently stated or implied by the champions of 'No Licence' that with the abolition of the licensed houses serious crime generally is reduced by more than one-half, some even going the length of putting the reduction at 75 per cent.

"The Commissioner of Police assured me that the extension of the 'No Licence' areas, instead of meaning a reduction of the police force, would necessitate an increase both of the plain-clothes and uniformed forces. The Commissioner's report for 1907 shows a substantial growth of sly grog selling. An ominous statement by Inspector Gillies, of the Christchurch district, is published in the same report. Mr. Gillies remarks:—

" ' Sly grog selling in this district is confined chiefly to Ashburton and Oamaru, as these towns are in ' No Licence ' districts. The difficulties which beset the local police in procuring evidence in such cases are well known, and little, if any, assistance can be relied on from residents whose sympathies are with the grog sellers.'

" I am not convinced that the ' No Licence ' principle, as in operation in New Zealand, has been productive of any appreciable benefit to the nation as a whole. I am satisfied that its weaknesses will become more apparent as its application extends to more populous centres, especially when these centres adjoin other populous centres which elect to retain their licensed houses."

The account of the working of Local Veto in New Zealand received striking confirmation in a dispatch from the New

Zealand correspondent of the *Manchester*

A Liberal Paper's View. *Guardian* (a Liberal publication), which was published in that newspaper on December 28th, 1910.

After a reference to the Act passed in 1909 by the New Zealand Parliament, which eliminated the reduction issue, retained the Local Veto provisions, and added the new issue of Dominion Prohibition—to be determined by a three-fifths majority in either case—the writer went on to say :

" What has been the effect of no-licence, and does the extraordinary success of that movement lead us to anticipate the carrying of Dominion Prohibition within a practically measurable distance of time ? To give a hurried answer in the affirmative, as the onward march of the no-licence voting might suggest at first glance, would involve shutting one's eyes to facts. The chief of these is that, notwithstanding the advance of no-licence voting, drinking has substantially increased. When only 37.82 per cent. of the voters favoured abolition of licences, the annual expenditure per head on liquor for the whole population was £2 19s. 8d. ; when the aggregate vote against licences had grown to 42.23 per cent. the Drink Bill had gone up to £3 4s. 9d. per head. In the next three years no licence voting jumped up 6.65 per cent. but the increased appetite for liquor was then represented by an average expenditure of £3 10s. 3d. In 1905, and again in 1908, the growth of the no-licence vote was still accompanied by greater indulgence in alcohol.

" Thus no-licence has not reduced drinking in the aggregate. If liquor consumption has diminished in ' dry ' districts, it has gone up in even greater ratio elsewhere than the official figures indicate. The removal of drink from the public-house bar, where it is subject to official oversight, to the private

cupboard and club 'locker,' where it is not, may or may not be desirable. It is maintained that there is a greater degree of law and order in no-licence than in licence districts. But increasing desire for alcoholic beverages on the part of the people is established by the official statistics; and while people of this character may have voted without hesitation for conditions such as no-licence brings about, it seems a forlorn hope to expect them to vote right out of the country something they now spend nearly four millions a year to enjoy."

A vote in New Zealand has been taken on the Prohibition question as recently as 1914, and the result was a decided setback for the Prohibition party. The voting, according to the *Morning Advertiser* of March 20th, 1915, was as follows:—

National Prohibition	..	..	..	247,217
National Continuance	..	..	..	257,442
Local No-licence	..	..	..	229,474
Local Continuance	..	..	..	274,405

These figures show a reaction against Prohibition when compared with the figures for the previous poll.

The following statistics from New Zealand, the most recent available, are further proof that prohibition is no cure for crime:—

NUMBER OF PERSONS BROUGHT BEFORE MAGISTRATES FOR OFFENCES OTHER THAN DRUNKENNESS IN 1915.

Whole Dominion	Population. ... 1,145,000	Population.	
		No-Licence Areas	... 102,000
Offences other than drunkenness.	Proportion per thousand pop.	Offences other than drunkenness.	Proportion per thousand pop.
32,477	28·36	2,906	28·49

The following are a few details of the classes of crime showing excess in No-Licence Areas:—

Offences.		Dominion		No-Licence Areas.	
	No.	Per 1,000.	No.	Per 1,000.	
Manslaughter	6	·0054	1	·0098
Carnal knowledge	34	·020	6	·058
Incest	14	·012	2	·0190
Selling liquor without Licence	201	·17	47	·40
Destitutes	—	—	—	—
Bastardy	292	·25	36	·35
Infants' Act	13	·011	2	·019
School Attendance	573	·50	84	·82
Destitutes, failing to maintain	2,549	2·22	208	2·04	

MAGISTRATES' COURTS—CRIMINAL CASES.

TABLES SHOWING SUMMARY CONVICTIONS IN THE NO-LICENCE DISTRICT OF ASHBURTON AND SURROUNDING ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, 1915.

District.	Offences.			
	Drunken- ness.	Against the person	Against property.	Other offences.
Ashburton (No Licence)	119	5	22	345
Ellesmere (Licence) ..	14	—	9	106
Selwyn ..	46	1	3	48
Riccarton ..	4	1	3	50
Temuka ..	93	4	18	166
Kaiapoi ..	24	2	13	212
Hurunui ..	33	6	9	113

NOTE.—The Licensed Districts quoted are surrounding Ashburton, and are similar in characteristics and population. These tables have been compiled by the Secretary of the New Zealand Moderate League.

(4) IN RUSSIA.

The world was startled when the then Imperial Government of Russia decreed Prohibition in the early days of the War.

For years previously the Imperial Russian Government had been a good deal concerned about the subject of temperance. It was the Imperial Russian Government which, in conjunction with the True Temperance Association of Great Britain, started in 1913 the International Committee for the Study of Alcohol, a body whose promising activities were cut short by the War. Up to this time the official Russian attitude towards the question was moderate.

Early in 1914 however there were signs of a more extreme policy, for in January the Czar directed that the struggle against intemperance should be put in the

The War forefront of the State's domestic policy.

Legislation. Then in July, 1914, came the mobilisation, and the Government immediately prohibited the use of vodka except in first-class restaurants and clubs.

On August 9th, 1914, the Committee of Ministers decided to authorise the sale of wine only in places where the autonomous local authorities were not opposed to the trade. In war districts the authorisation was given by the Military Authorities.

On August 22nd, 1914, a ukase prohibited the sale of spirits to the end of the war, and of beer and stout to September 1st.

On August 28th, 1914, the Town Council of Petrograd decided to prohibit the sale of all strong drinks during the war,

and the same decision was taken by the Town Council of Moscow and 527 other town councils, some of whom decided to prohibit the sale for ever.

On October 13th, 1914, the Imperial sanction was given to the decision of the Committee of Ministers prohibiting the sale of every kind of strong drink wherever the local public authorities were against the trade. In this month also an order was issued by the Minister of Finance that in places where there was no prohibition of the sale of wine and beer, the beer must not be stronger than 3.7 per cent. and the wine no stronger than 16 per cent. and that the number of shops should be very few, and that there should be no bars.

In July, 1915, the punishments for illegal trading were considerably strengthened by a decision of the Committee of Ministers and Imperial approval.

By an order issued on May 2nd, 1916, denatured spirits could be bought only by special permission and only in very limited quantities for technical use.

On June 9th, 1916, the Minister of Finance issued an order providing for the severe enforcement of the law, and on June 27th the sale of spirits to perfumery factories and hospitals was limited.

On August 8th, 1916, by a decision of the Committee of Ministers, the sale of vodka and other spirits in first-class restaurants and clubs was prohibited, and the postal authorities were also prohibited from conveying spirits.

On September 29th, 1916, the manufacture of spirits was prohibited by the Committee of Ministers during 1916 and 1917, but on December 6th, 1916, it was again authorised as from January 1st, 1917.

On October 20th, 1916, the trade in varnish and polish was registered and limited.

The following additional particulars may be quoted from a despatch from the British Embassy dated December 3rd, 1914:—

"The Municipal Council of Petrograd has restricted the sale of beer and wine to 49 first-class hotels and restaurants, and it is rumoured that this number is shortly to be reduced to 20. Light red and white wine (16 per cent. strength) and champagne may be sold by wine merchants daily from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., except on Saturdays and the eves of Festivals, when the hours are from 10 a.m. until 2 p.m. On Sundays and Feast days the sale of all intoxicants (except in the 49 hotels and restaurants above mentioned) is forbidden, and the shops remain closed throughout the day. The sale of any drink is prohibited after 11 p.m., at which hour all hotels and restaurants, without exception, must close. The sale of all spirits is absolutely

forbidden. Vodka is unobtainable, and the existing Government monopoly for its manufacture and sale is to cease.

"The illegal sale of beer, porter, wine and spirits is punishable by a fine not exceeding 3,000 roubles, or three months' imprisonment, closure of the restaurant or saloon and perpetual disqualification to hold a licence. Similar liability is incurred by the supply of drink to persons already in an evident state of insobriety.

"All liquors purchased in hotels and restaurants must be consumed on the premises and may be supplied only to customers having meals. Penalty for a violation of this regulation is fine or imprisonment not exceeding 3,000 roubles or three months.

"Persons found intoxicated or incapable on the streets or in public places are liable to a fine of 100 roubles or in default three weeks' arrest.

"Other temperance measures which have been adopted are as follows:—

"Numbers of beer saloons and third-class eating and drinking houses in the towns of Russia have been compulsorily closed by order of local public bodies with the sanction of the Government, and the number of streets in which the opening of such establishments is prohibited has been increased. The sale of all liquors has been forbidden in the vicinity of barracks, camps, military training areas, public market places and of all categories of educational establishments. The sale of intoxicants in third-class railway restaurants, except where there are second and first-class restaurants also, is forbidden, and in all classes of railway restaurants the sale of beer or wine is limited to a specified period previous to the arrival and subsequent to the departure of a train. The same regulations apply to restaurants on wharves and to the bars on steamers during their stay at any point of call. Licences for music and other entertainments in popular restaurants and beer saloons will be granted with extreme caution and in restricted numbers. The sale of beer in public baths will no longer be allowed. On all occasions of public assembly (elections, fair days, sittings of the local courts or boards) the sale of beer or wine in the village or township concerned will be prohibited.

"Excise duty on beer has been increased from 1 rouble 70 copecks (about 2s. 9d.) per pood of malt extract to 6 roubles (about 12s.), and the percentage of alcohol has been reduced from 9 per cent. to 3.7 per cent. The extreme penalty for the preparation or sale of beer of greater strength than above stated is six months' imprisonment.

"In places under martial law or in a state of siege or within

the sphere of military operations the sale of all intoxicants is absolutely forbidden."

These drastic laws may have achieved some good, for vodka is a fiery spirit, and the Russian working classes were apt to consume it intemperately, but evil results also ensued. In the *Times* (Russian Supplement) of June 28th, 1915, an article, by the Petrograd correspondent of that journal, stated :—

"In the 'Russian Physician' (Russky Wratch) Dr. Novosolsky gives an interesting comparative table of mortality from alcohol.

"The following figures relate to deaths from *delirium tremens* :—

Old Style.	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15
From—			
July 20—Aug. 16	60	65	49
Aug. 17—Sept. 13	56	88	26
Sept. 14—Oct. 11	75	81	33
Oct. 12—Nov. 8	52	68	34
Nov. 9—Dec. 6	60	61	43
Dec. 7—Jan. 3	59	91	53
Jan. 4—Jan. 31	43	65	58
Feb. 1—Feb. 28	64	55	66

"The author comments upon the foregoing table as follows :—

"Till the liquor prohibition the mortality statistics showed sharp fluctuations devoid of regularity, whereas since the prohibition they have betrayed a steady upward tendency. Prohibitive measures in Petrograd have been continually strengthened. At first the sale of vodka was forbidden everywhere save in first-class restaurants; then the prohibition was extended to the latter, but they were permitted to trade in wine and beer; but finally there ensued a complete and universal prohibition of the free sale of all spirituous or malt liquors. Yet mortality from drunkenness in Petrograd has developed in inverse proportion to the intensity of prohibitive measures."

"It is clear from the foregoing that the consumption of substitutes has obtained a firm footing :—

"The steady growth of the figures testifying to the ever-expanding circle of consumers of substitutes shows that the latter are utilised not only by confirmed drunkards unfit for work, but generally by all those elements which before the prohibition drank vodka and were accustomed to drink.

At first, after the prohibition of vodka, this portion of the population feared the poisonous effects of methylated spirits, but later, being satisfied that this spirit was not at all poisonous and that its objectionable taste could be more or less removed, began to apply it upon an ever-increasing scale. From an interesting article by Dr. N. V. Kuznetsov concerning poisoning by methylated spirit and varnish, according to data of the Petrograd Obukhovsky Hospital, it is seen that among confirmed drinkers of methylated spirit received in the hospital were persons of all ages (principally between 20 and 30) and professions, a fact which also contradicts the assertion as to the use of methylated spirits only by habitual drinkers.'

" Thus it is evident that *per se* the prohibition is not attaining the desired end.

" In the same connection some curious facts have come to light regarding the shifts and expedients to which confirmed drinkers resort in order to supply substitutes for vodka. Before August, 1914, the common recipe for methylating spirits was: to 100 parts of alcohol two parts of wood alcohol, one part of keton, and 0.5 of pyrodine, 0.3 of kerosene, and 0.1 of colouring matter, while the State distilleries used violet and the private ones red colouring matter.

" During the war there occurred a shortage of these ingredients and of wood alcohol supplied by the Zemstvos of Kazan and Nizhni Novgorod provinces, where it is obtained by hand methods. In consequence of the curtailment of the transport of wood spirit to Petrograd the supplies decreased, and simultaneously fears were entertained lest the keton and pyrodine received from abroad should be exhausted. As a result, in August a circular was issued directing that the quantity of all distilling ingredients, save kerosene and colouring matter, should be temporarily reduced. Two months ago the Ministry of Finance issued regulations by virtue of which the State distilleries began to prepare methylated spirit in accordance with the old recipe, but the private distilleries continued to use the new and weaker ingredients. Habitual drunkards were not slow to take advantage of the weakening of methylated spirit, and in the brewing of the drink called *khanzhi* began to use exclusively methylated spirit of private manufacture. The distillers' establishment in Yorokhavya Street, Petrograd, was besieged by crowds quite as large as those which used to gather at ordinary times before the State liquor stores on the eve of big holidays. Many well-dressed persons appearing at the State wine shops asked for red methylated spirit, and in reply to the question why they wanted red instead of violet, said: ' We won't hide the truth. The red is more palatable, and not so biting.' "

The *Morning Advertiser* of August 21st, 1915, quoted the Petrograd correspondent of the *Birmingham Daily Post*, as follows :—

" I was much surprised when, on coming here eleven months ago, I found the Sunday crowds sober, in good order, and in harmony. First inquiries showed that at the police stations and hospitals hardly any cases of drunkenness were recorded. Soon afterwards newspapers began to talk of new poisonous drinks, and the hospitals began to take the victims in. Human nature had proved too much for the law. The number of victims at first increased slowly ; the war enthusiasm was a moral restraining force. But the increase rate began to accelerate itself.

" The regulations under martial law for the preservation of public order laid down heavy fines for drunkenness in the streets. The new drunkards, who in peace time would not have been punished, fell under the martial law regulations. Newspapers published lists of citizens who had been sent to gaol for three months (the maximum) for being drunk in public, and added notes of regret at the widespread drinking of poisons. Then doctors entered the discussion, and medical journals began to print statistics from the hospitals. Statistics, and up to March only, show that in most large cities there has been an alarming increase in the number of deaths from drunkenness.

" This is so in Petrograd, Moscow, Odessa and Kharkoff ; in Kieff there has been a slight fall ; and in the Eastern Governments which Witte chose for his experiment 20 years ago 30 per cent. more die from drinking to excess. A very few cases are due to drinking Government vodka obtained unlawfully. Elsewhere, methylated spirits, furniture polish, and a new illicitly distilled potato spirit called ' grandmother's gruel,' are the cause."

Special legislation has had to be promoted to deal with the sale of these substitutes for alcohol.

The Russian Press on the Failure.

The *Bourse Outlook* of October 21st, 1915, says :—

" Constant complaints are arriving from Siberia as to drunkenness.

" According to information received from the village of Kutulik, in the province of Balagan, drunkenness, owing to evident toleration, has assumed such large proportions that the fact can no longer be overlooked.

" Every day, holiday or working day, it is possible to meet drunkards—the whole place resounds with unprintable expressions, and this sorry state of our village not only

encounters no obstacles, but one even notices evident toleration. The subordinate officials of the village police are often to be seen about the streets in a rather 'elevated' state.

"It is related that when the poorhouse caught fire all in the courtyard of the rural administration, including the inmates, were drunk."

Another Russian paper, writing, not of remote Siberia, but of the capital, says:—

"It has come to the knowledge of the Petrograd City authorities that at many restaurants in the first section in the centre of the capital various alcoholic drinks are sold, while vodka, beer, cognac and liquors are supplied in jugs, and wine sold openly in bottles in the private rooms."

In February, 1915, an Anglo-Russian dinner was given at a Petrograd restaurant, presided over by the Foreign Minister, and attended by the British Ambassador and leading Russian statesmen and officials and members of the Duma, to the number of more than 200. Not only was wine of all sorts provided, but the customary vodka was also served.

Ignoring of the law is not occasional. A deputy in the Duma, M. A. Karanloff, in the debate on the Budget on December 18th, 1915, cited as an example of what is going on: "I was at a name-day celebration, and noticed how all the guests brought bottles of vodka in their pockets."

The *Russkoe Slovo* of January 22nd, 1916, contained an article called "Orgies in the rear of our Armies," signed by M. Nemirovitch Danchenki. The statements in it are probably exaggerated, but here are just one or two sentences, which, exaggerated or not, show clearly enough that prohibition has not succeeded in prohibiting.

"'Society,' given over to drink as though at its wits' ends, sits down in the wine-shop, and does not wish to know anything."

(The writer does not mean, it should be explained, by 'Society' what we mean by the term.)

"A bottle of champagne costs a quarter piece, but it nevertheless flows in torrents, just as though they were all Rothschilds."

"At one of the Moscow restaurants the business done on New Year's Eve amounted to 25,000 roubles."

"Theatres and restaurants close their doors at 11 o'clock, and the result of this strange, though undoubtedly wholesome, measure is that quiet and peaceful quarters, on which nobody has a right to lay a hand, have been turned into an endless wine-shop. Here debauchery and drunkenness are rampant, and if remonstrated with they reply, 'Well, you will not allow me who am hungry to have my supper in the restaurant so I

can let you see my *kushinska* at home!' Thus prohibitions merely tend to foster clandestine sale."

"Even with the free sale of the strong poison of former days the prisoners never threw as they are doing to-day."

In some places the authorities gave up all attempt to enforce prohibition. According to the *Russkoe Slovo* of December 18th, 1915, the City Council of Koursk suspended the sale of spirituous liquors of every kind in the month of November. At its December meeting the Council retracted the order, and allowed the sale of wines and beer. A communication from a newspaper correspondent at Riazan in the previous September had noted the despatch from Riazan to Koursk on one day of 28,280 vedros of beer.

In Kazan, in December, 1915, the Council attempted the rigorous prosecution of persons appearing in public in an intoxicated condition—evidence that the prohibition previously enforced must have been a failure.

But a more important body than the two last cited came to a similar conclusion. The Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire decided about the same time that "It is impossible to prohibit in times of peace the sale of grape wine and of beer." This was the result of the Council's consideration of a Bill proposing perpetual teetotalism.

As well as direct evasion of the prohibition law, the Russian public has been ingenious in subterfuges. The *Bourse Outlook* had an interesting report of a discussion in the Duma during the consideration of a report by the Professional Society of Assistant Chemists. The following are extracts from the account of the proceedings:—

"The report submitted by the Assistant Chemists shows the systematic incitement to drink of the population of the capital, which is being carried out by the Petrograd apothecaries, and by the proprietors of chemists' and druggists' shops.

"The proprietors of chemists' shops, says the report, have understood that the increased demand for kalangal and other drops, and for eau de Cologne, has absolutely nothing to do with medicinal purposes. Nevertheless, this knowledge did not lead to a refusal to supply any of the drops. On the contrary, the apothecaries are very keen to take advantage of the prohibitive system of fighting alcoholism, in order to profit thereby, and have developed in that direction an unusually energetic activity, having transformed their right to keep spirits and to sell them in a modified way into a special kind of apothecary business. To achieve their ends the apothecaries have even broken the regulations of the Pharmacopœia, according to which, for instance, kalangal

drops have to be infused on 90 degrees spirit for seven days, but in order to maintain their brisk business they infuse it for one or two days.

"It comes to this—that they are selling, not kalangal drops, but spirits coloured with burnt sugar.

"In order to render the action of eau de Cologne less injurious and to increase its consumption as a drink, and also in order to lessen its cost price, the apothecaries have stopped selling the manufactured eau de Cologne, which chemically is rather an injurious product, and instead of it they are supplying a mixture of their own manufacture. This is a pure spirit, infused for a short time on some aromatic spice. This mixture is sold in special flasks, with imitation labels which imitate the packing of the factories.

. . . . "The sale of substitutes for vodka is not at pharmacies at present an accidental occurrence, but forms a special branch of the business, which has created special methods of production and sale. The report of the Society of Pharmacists reveals another aspect of the way in which the population is being intoxicated. It clearly shows how the circle of customers of the apothecaries in the capital becomes larger and larger every day.

"At first, says the report, the circle of customers was limited, and consisted mostly of the lower classes. But as the number of clients increased, other classes gradually appeared; students, workmen, and small shopkeepers became frequent.

"According to the figures collected by the Society of Pharmacists, the quantity of transformed spirit sold at 150 Petrograd pharmacies during one year of war reached 80,000 vedros (one vedro is equal to 2.707 gallons) of pure spirit, which makes about 3,200,000 vedros of vodka, amounting to 3½ million roubles. If we add about 1,000 druggists who also have a big sale for eau de Cologne and drops, it will be necessary to multiply the above figures by three or four. The average profit of an apothecary from the sale of vodka substitutes reaches 100 to 110 roubles per day. There are known to be small apothecaries living on the outskirts whose takings in ordinary times did not exceed 20 to 25 roubles per day. At present the takings of these apothecaries reach 250 roubles and over. The increase is to be ascribed, of course, mostly to the sale of spirits. During the last month 150 Petrograd apothecaries have sold 9,000 vedros of spirits, which make 360,000 bottles of vodka.

"There were about 1,300,000 special visits.

"What has been stated above clearly proves that the apothecary's shop is at present a large propagator of drunkenness.

"Like other places of drunkenness orgies, the apothecaries' shops have become witness to scenes characteristic of ordinary drinking places. It often happens that a drunkard forces himself in at night, and, either by threat or begging, obtains more kalangal drops ; or a drunkard comes into the shop in order to obtain something to put him right again. Similarly the apothecary shop at the capital, which is the successor of the drinking house, very often witnesses family dramas—weeping mothers, wives, and daughters. All attempts made by the administration and by the assistant pharmacists to put an end to the drunken Bacchanalia of the apothecaries have been fruitless."

According to the Petrograd correspondent of the *Times* (September 18th, 1915), trying to make out a good industrial result from this semi-prohibition in Russia, the productivity of labour in five branches of industry, engaging 646,138 out of 876,387, the total factory and mill hands in the Moscow region, rose 0.52 per cent., the ratio for males being 0.9 per cent.

Another enquiry, among a smaller and selected number of employees, gave, according to this correspondent, an increased productivity (comparing August to October of 1913 with August to October of 1914) of 7.1 per cent., and for male employees up to 8.2 per cent. There is, of course, no proof that the abolition of vodka was the cause of these small increases, though possibly it was a contributing factor ; but the figures are noteworthy because it has been freely asserted in this country that prohibition of vodka in Russia had resulted in an increased industrial productivity of 30 per cent.

At the time of writing it is impossible to ascertain what is the position in Russia with regard to drink, but there is reason to suppose that prohibition was one of the causes of the disastrous Russian Revolution and the terrible consequences which followed in its wake. The news which is received from Russia from time to time makes it clear that prohibition is no longer observed, though no doubt the disorganisation of the country's industrial business and the famine under which it has been living have prevented a large supply of liquor from being obtained.

XI.—MODIFIED PROHIBITION AND SUNDAY CLOSING, &c.

LOCAL VETO.

“Local Option” is a term loosely employed to describe something which is not intended to be an “Option.” “Trust the people” is the favourite motto of the local vetoist. But the case for Local Option breaks down at this very point. The teetotal zealots do not intend to trust the people. To trust the people would be to give them power to vote for more public-houses if they wanted them. But the teetotallers only propose to give the people power to vote for fewer public-houses.

A majority desiring more taverns is to be impotent. Only where there is a majority of tavern haters is trust to be reposed, and what is asked for is really Local Veto.

The ultimate purpose is “National Prohibition,” towards which Local Prohibition, enforced by means of Local Veto is regarded as the half-way house. The arguments against the granting of powers to any majority, small or large, to restrict the tastes and habits of a minority set out in the previous chapter, apply with equal force to Local Veto.

The Liberal Party in this country has suffered very severely in the past as a result of espousing the cause of Local Veto, one general election, at least, having been lost mainly on that issue. But the teetotal-ridden politicians have been unable to leave it alone. In 1912 the Government introduced a Bill to apply Local Veto to Scotland, but as there was a disagreement with the House of Lords the Bill did not pass. It was, however, re-introduced in 1913 under the provisions of the Parliament Act, and became law. In giving their assent to the Bill the Unionist Leaders in the House of Lords repudiated any responsibility for its working. They said that they regarded it as a thoroughly bad Bill, but allowed it to pass, for strategical reasons, so that it should not be mixed up with Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment when the struggle came over the working of the Parliament Act.

The Scottish Local Veto Act provides:—

1. For the taking of a poll in specified areas to decide (a) whether the licensed trade is to be carried on as

The Scottish Act. at present, or (b) whether the number of public-houses in the area is to be reduced by 25 per cent., or (c) whether all public-houses and retail licences in the area are to be abolished.

2. The area in question will be in the case of burghs with not less than 25,000 population, the wards or smallest division, (b) in the case of smaller burghs, the whole burghs, and (c) in the case of counties, the parishes.

3. The electors entitled to vote will be, in the case of a burgh, those entitled to take part in the election of town councillors, and in the case of a parish those entitled to take part in the election of parish councillors.

4. A poll will be taken on a requisition signed by not less than one-tenth of the electors in the area, and when once a poll has been taken no attempt may be made to reverse the decision before the month of November in the third year from the date of the last poll.

5. The resolution abolishing all retail licences will be carried, if 55 per cent. of these voting are in favour of it, provided that they constitute not less than 35 per cent. of the total number of electors on the register. A bare majority of votes recorded will be sufficient to carry the limiting resolution if they constitute not less than 35 per cent. of the total number of electors on the register. In the event of the resolution for total abolition not being carried, the votes given, therefore, will be automatically transferred to the limiting resolution.

6. If the prohibitory resolution is carried all retail licences will be abolished, but the Licensing Court will be empowered to permit the sale of liquor at an inn, hotel, or restaurant, to those persons only who are lodging or residing in the inn or hotel, or are taking a meal at the restaurant.

7. The Act is to come into operation at the expiration of eight years from June 1st, 1912, but apart from that short notice there is no provision for compensating the publicans and others who will be deprived of their means of livelihood as the result of the passing of a "No-liscence" or "limiting" resolution.

8. The Act also provides that no public-house shall open before ten o'clock in the morning, and that alcoholic liquors shall not be supplied by clubs between the hours of 2 a.m. and 10 a.m.

The objections to Local Veto, both in principle and practice, may be conveniently dealt with under the following heads :—

Objections to Local Veto. *1. It is a gross infringement of individual liberty, since it confers upon one body of citizens power to regulate and restrict the personal tastes and habits of another body of citizens.*

The right of the majority to govern is the basis of democratic government, but such right must be exercised with due regard to the wishes of a minority. No real democrat has ever yet

suggested that the majority should be empowered to regulate the personal tastes and habits of the minority, except where they are obviously at variance with the general well-being of the community. The Scottish Local Veto Act will in effect enable 35 per cent. of the electors (if they constitute 55 per cent. of those voting) to say that the other 65 per cent. shall be deprived of all retail facilities for obtaining the beverages of their choice in a particular area. This form of prohibition will operate very unfairly, because it will apply only to those who obtain their liquor retail, viz., the working classes and travellers. The rich man will still be able to buy his liquor wholesale, and club members will still be able to indulge their appetites to any extent. If this principle is once conceded, there will be no logical reason why vegetarians should not be empowered to vote for the prohibition of the sale of meat. A butcher's shop is just as objectionable to a vegetarian as a public-house is to a fanatical teetotaller, and the former is just as sure about the evil effects of meat-eating as the latter is of the evil effects of beer-drinking. Moreover, it is common knowledge that excess of meat eating is injurious in the same way that excess in drinking is injurious. Thus the parallel holds good from every point of view. The claim of a section of organised fanatics to regulate the tastes and habits of their fellow citizens could also be extended to other articles of daily consumption with an equal show of reason.

The Socialists may well be regarded as the representatives of the ultra-democratic school, but they have declared against Local Veto. Mr. Edward R. Pease, in a book entitled "The Case for Municipal Drink," which represents the policy of the Fabian Society, the most scientific body of Socialists, says with regard to Local Veto : "It would not fulfil the objects of the law any better than the present system does. It would not prevent excessive consumption where excess chiefly prevails, and it would not facilitate police supervision and enforcement of the law where these are now most needed. It would not add to the revenue, and it would tend to encourage illicit sales and the adulteration which accompanies them. . . . The popular control which it gives is of the most superficial character The law would not be acquiesced in by the minority."

2. Local Veto would in no way tend to check intemperance, because it would be inoperative in just those places where intemperance abounded.

This is self-evident. The aim and justification of all temperance legislation should be the reduction of intemperance, but an intemperate community would never vote for the

reduction of facilities. This has been recognised by Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., who, in a book entitled, "Liberalism—Its Principles and Proposals," writes : "For many years the Liberal Party supported the plan of Local Option . . . but there has been a tendency to a change of view. It has been more clearly recognised that Local Option might prove an ineffective weapon, and be enforced least often in the localities where the reform was needed most ; for where public-houses have the greatest number of patrons there also they are likely to find at a poll the greatest number of defenders. And, further, it is feared that Local Option might lead to violent and disturbing action and reaction."

Mr. L. Stileman-Gibbard, J.P., a well-known teetotal advocate, was reported in the "Alliance News" of May 14th, 1914, as saying :—"If Local Veto were to get through Parliament to-morrow it would not have a marked effect in this country where the centres of population were—in the large cities, and even in the small towns."

3. The aim of Local Veto is Local Prohibition, and wherever any form of prohibition has been tried it has led to flagrant evasion of the law, without any appreciable reduction in the volume of drunkenness.

Proof of this is to be found in the experience of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, referred to in the previous chapter.

Some attempt has been made to confuse the public by likening Local Veto to the Referendum, and it is necessary to show that there are material differences.

Local Veto and the Referendum. It is true that some similarity may be seen in these two things — the Referendum and Local Veto ; but there is an essential dissimilarity also. And the essential difference will be most quickly observed by reminding the reader that, whereas the Referendum puts the people in the place of Parliament for the purpose of law-making, Local Veto only puts the people in the place of the magistrates for the purpose of licensing administration. One is a legislative, the other an administrative act. This is not a mere technical distinction ; it is a difference of substance. In administering the Licensing Laws, as the famous case of *Sharp v. Wakefield* reminds us, judicial discretion must be used ; magistrates must not shut up public-houses according to their whim. But in law-making legislators are subject to no judicial restraint ; they can act according to their untrammelled fancy. That is why law-making, in so far as the approval or disapproval of the main lines of the proposed legislation goes, can be performed

as well by a multitude as by a few, and so is well suited to the Referendum ; but that is also just why licensing administration—the judicial business of choosing which (if any) public-houses are to be closed—is most unsuited to a general poll. An indiscriminate collection of inhabitants of a locality, marking a yes-or-no paper in their homes or at a polling station, cannot possibly exercise a judicial discretion, or make the detailed inquiries or deliberations which are necessary to the exercise of a judicial discretion.

This does not mean that temperance legislation is to be excluded from the purview of the Referendum. Temperance legislation can be as properly submitted to a poll of the people as any other kind of legislation. The general principles of a Licensing Bill can be submitted to the initiative of the voters, and, if they are in favour of it, the Bill can be drafted by the Government, and discussed in detail in Parliament, and the Bill in its final shape submitted to the voters. That is how legislation on the subject should be conducted. The opinion of the whole nation will then be expressed on a matter affecting the whole nation. But it would be quite another thing, and an inappropriate thing, for the nation to be split up into localities, with power to a majority of the householders in each locality to administer the law, and determine which (if any) public-houses should continue to exist in their particular neighbourhood. That would be rather a travesty than a legitimate extension of the principle of the Referendum.

This is seen by regarding what would happen in practice. As Mr. Winston Churchill once confessed, the likelihood of what he regarded as temperance legislation being passed by a vote of the people generally is very remote ; for all men who are not fanatics agree that public-houses are practically necessary parts of our social arrangements, and that the men conducting them should be treated fairly. At the same time, if a man is asked (as Local Veto would ask) whether he would like to close a public-house a few doors away from his own villa residence, natural selfishness would be likely to get the better of him, and he would vote for its closing—just as he would also, if he got the chance, vote for the closing of a butcher's shop, or a fried-fish shop, or a school, or even a church, in his immediate neighbourhood. It would be the improvement of his own property, or the increase, at somebody else's expense, of the amenities of his own residence, which would weigh with him—it would not be an exercise of judicial discretion, made impartially between the claims of temperance enthusiasts and a lawful trade.

SUNDAY AND EARLY CLOSING.

Sunday Closing and Early Closing represent other phases of the attempt to restrict the public consumption of beverages.

Obviously the proposals for Sunday closing, or for a closer approximation thereto than obtains at present, are an infringement upon personal liberty, and no excuse even can be found for them unless there is a very strong case for the supposition that they will restrain drunkenness.

With regard to this, the following observations are offered. Drunkenness does not take place exclusively, or even mainly, in public-houses. Restrictions upon the

The Argument. opportunity of obtaining a glass of beer in a public house on Sunday will not prevent men who so ardently desire drink that they drink to excess, from obtaining it ; they will supply themselves in other ways—in a club, or by laying in a stock of liquor. The stock is likely to take the form of the more portable whisky rather than of the more harmless beer, and in these circumstances excess is much more likely ; many a man will indulge to excess, with a bottle of whisky in his possession, who would not exceed the bounds if he could get a glass of beer at a public-house when he wanted it. Thus, no drunkard will drink less ; many careless drinkers will drink more ; while a large number of temperate drinkers will be put to inconvenience, and find their reasonable liberty unreasonably destroyed ; and men will scheme to evade a law which they resent, their regard for law generally, and their character of law-abiding citizens, being thereby weakened.

The Sabbatarian argument will of course have to be met. It should not be difficult. There are persons in this country whose religious convictions impel them to practise a particular kind of Sunday observance. No one proposes to interfere with them. If a man objects on conscientious grounds ever to do any work on Sundays, he will not become a publican, any more than he will become a railway servant or an omnibus conductor. If, again, his religious convictions debar him from entering a public-house on Sundays he is perfectly free to stay outside. But he has no right to dictate methods of Sunday observance to those who do not share his particular convictions ; and very large numbers of the population, the majority, in fact, and a majority comprising men whose religious convictions are just as strong and just as worthy of respect as the Sabbatarian's, do not think it wrong that innkeepers should provide refreshment on Sundays in licensed houses, any more than that they should be obtainable in clubs or private houses. Indeed it is difficult to see how there can be anything inherently wrong in serving a glass of beer on Sunday ; for Sabbatarians themselves order their servants to provide them on Sunday with such refreshments as they desire. These persons do not give their servants a complete holiday on Sunday, and they would express surprise if those servants declined to hand

round tea in the drawing-room on Sunday afternoon on the ground that the work was not absolutely necessary, and so should not be performed. But even if the religious argument were valid as a matter of individual observance, the enforcement of it upon the nation—upon people with different views—is simply religious persecution; and the age of religious persecution should be passed.

How inept to check drunkenness are legislative restrictions upon Sunday drinking in public-houses the examples of Wales and Scotland show. The Chief

Sunday Closing in Wales. Constable of Monmouthshire reported in July, 1904, that the Welsh Sunday Closing Act was a nuisance to the county, and admitted that there was a great deal of drunkenness

along the border. Otherwise, he said, the country was very quiet on Sundays, people being content to obtain refreshments during the ordinary hours of opening. He expressed the opinion that if the Sunday Closing Act were extended to Monmouthshire drunkenness and disorder would largely increase.

The result of Sunday closing in Wales may be gauged more directly by figures given in the report of the Royal Commission of 1889 upon the Welsh Sunday Closing Act. A table in this Report shows that the average number of convictions for drunkenness in the five years before Sunday Closing (1877 to 1881) was 626, equal to .46 per 1,000; in the five years 1884-1888, after Sunday Closing was in operation, the average convictions were 905, equal to .62 per 1,000 of the population.

There is also first-rate evidence from Scotland to show that, far from bringing about a reduction of drunkenness, early closing and undue restrictions are

Sunday and Early Closing in Scotland. fruitful causes of drunkenness. In 1904

the closing hour for all licensed houses in Scotland was fixed at 10 p.m. The immediate result was a large increase in the number of persons charged with drunkenness and disorderly conduct, as the following figures taken from the Judicial Statistics of Scotland will show:—

	No. of Charges.		No. of Charges.
1903	95,681	1910	80,124
1904	91,957	1911	87,937
1905	94,768	1912	92,443
1906	105,452	1913	102,090
1907	109,701	1914	98,698
1908	103,200	1915	81,385
1909	81,311	1916	58,196

Reference may be made to the famous White Paper on Munitions, which Mr. D. Lloyd George produced in the spring of 1915, as the evidence upon which his Prohibitionist proposals

were based. The paper contained the reports of "special investigators." The summary of the reports from the Clyde states :—

"Although the amount of drinking during the day did not appear to be excessive, having regard to the character of the work, a large number of men drink to excess at the end of the week. . . . Bottles of whisky are also sold in large quantities on Saturday night, as the public-houses are closed on Sunday. Drinking goes on very largely on Sunday in clubs, and this is responsible for a lot of time lost on Monday" (p. 19). The Dumbarton summary states that the "public-houses in Scotland being closed on Sunday, a practice has grown up of purchasing whisky on Saturday night. One of the investigators noticed a barman who had filled about 100 bottles of whisky which he expected to sell between half-past nine and closing time. The result is that the men are able to drink on Sunday and are frequently unfit for work on Monday morning" (p. 21).

In the summary of the Scotstoun and Clydebank investigators it is stated that "if drinking were limited to Saturdays, and the men took a rest on Sundays, they might recover in time for work on Monday, but unfortunately men take bottles of whisky home with them, which is frequently consumed the same night. Although the public-houses are closed on Sunday, it is also easy for them to obtain liquor at the various clubs" (p. 19).

We have also the evidence of those engaged in administering the law to show that early closing is positively mischievous even from a temperance standpoint. Bailie Watson, a senior magistrate of Glasgow, addressing the electors of his ward in 1906, said : "The existing drunkenness in the city was due to a considerable extent to ten o'clock closing. It tended towards rapid drinking and encouraged many people to take bottles away with them."

Chief Constable Stevenson, of Glasgow, in his report for 1906, attributed an increase in the convictions for drunkenness from 9,687 in 1905 to 13,239 in 1906 "to various causes, amongst others the extra vigilance on the part of the police, to ten o'clock closing, and to increased drinking in clubs and shebeens." The convictions for drunkenness in Glasgow continued to rise right up to 1909. So much, then, for the effect of undue restriction in Scotland.

The Munitions White Paper already referred to contains some illuminating matter on the question of the effect of restricted hours of sale. There is a report of a deputation of shipbuilding employers to the Chancellor of the Exchequer which declared that "curtailment . . . resulted in excessive drinking during the shortened hours, the takings of

certain public-houses which had had their hours reduced from 10 to 9 had actually increased and there had been a considerable growth in the pernicious habit of buying spirits by the bottle and taking it away to drink elsewhere" (p. 11).

The "special investigators" sent to Renfrew and Govan reported that "large numbers of bottles, varying in price from 6d. to 2s., are put ready in the public-houses to be carried away just before closing time for use the next morning, owing to the public-houses not opening until 10 a.m. In some cases men wait about in the morning till they do open, preferring the loss of time to going without their morning drink" (p. 20).

It is the same with early closing in the evening. A factory inspector writes from the Tyne:—"I was informed by an engineering employer that a number of his men occasionally stopped work at 8 p.m. instead of 9 p.m., the usual overtime period. He explained that, when asked the reason for their action, the workmen informed him that 'the "pubs" closed at 9 p.m. and they wanted a few drinks before closing time'" (p. 26).

It is interesting in this connection to compare the convictions for drunkenness in each division of the United

The Parts of the United Kingdom Compared. Kingdom. This table shows that Scotland, with early closing and Sunday closing, has more drunkenness than England and Wales; while Ireland, with partial Sunday closing, produces much more drunkenness than England and Wales.

DRUNKENNESS CONVICTIONS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION.

Year.	England.	Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1914	512	463	740	1,154
1915	380	296	—	980
1916	234	220	395	—

(Populations according to 1911 Census.)

During the Session of 1914 Bills dealing with the subject of restricting the hours for the sale of intoxicating liquors on

English Sunday Closing Bill. Sunday were introduced into both Houses of Parliament. The two Bills proceeded on similar lines, but in one respect the House of Lords' Bill was the more drastic, as it enabled the licensing justices in any district to close by order—*i.e.*, by a simple resolution—all the licensed premises in their district for the whole day on Sunday. After debating the question

on two occasions, the House of Lords referred the Bill to a Select Committee, thereby shelving it.

The Bill was rejected by the House of Commons on May 8th, 1914, after a spirited debate. The voting was 177 members for the Bill and 196 against. But, as the Bill only applied to England, it is significant that only 98 English members voted for it, while 175 voted against. Commenting on this the *Liberal Westminster Gazette* of May 12th, 1914, said :—“At this moment when we hear so much on all sides about Federalism, it would, we think, hardly be satisfactory to pass a Sunday Closing Bill applying to England *alone*, with a majority of English members against it.”

Sir Thomas Whittaker, M.P., writing in the *Westminster Gazette* on the same date said :—“Of the fourteen members of the Cabinet who sit in the House of Commons, only three—Mr. McKenna, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Pease—voted for the Bill ; eleven were absent.”

At the time there was a good deal of talk about the alleged good results of the closing of public houses in Liverpool during the 1911 strike ; but the false assumptions based on that experiment were finally exploded **Closing during Strikes.** in the annual volume of Licensing Statistics for 1911 issued by the Home Office. The report says :—

“The year 1911 affords the first opportunity of reviewing with the aid of statistics the effect of the closing—on a considerable scale—of licensed premises during a great part of the day.” After reviewing the action taken by the Liverpool justices and the statistics of drunkenness during the period in question, the report goes on to say :—

“Clearly the Liverpool figures—interesting as they are—afford no exception to the general rule that it is unsafe to attribute any change in the number of proceedings for drunkenness to any single or simple cause. No doubt the closing of the licensed premises had a considerable effect in checking the increase of arrests for drunkenness in Liverpool, which August, 1911, would otherwise have shown—even as it was, the total for the month exceeded that of 1910—and may have helped the decrease which was in progress in Birkenhead ; but, before much more is said, it is important to consider and compare the figures of some other large towns where there were disturbances in August, 1911.”

The following table shows the remarkable decrease in arrests for drunkenness in other towns during the period from August 17th to August 27th :—

						1910.	1911.
Manchester	..	..	..	..	..	194	107
Salford	..	..	..	..	..	72	22
Leeds	..	..	..	..	..	50	43
Hull	..	..	..	..	..	80	54

Commenting on those figures, the report goes on to say :—

" In none of these towns were licensed premises closed at unusual times, and yet in all of them there were decreases, more or less marked, in the number of arrests for drunkenness. In all of them—and here they are like Liverpool and Birkenhead—the police had a great deal to do, and money was scarce. There is a consensus of opinion that, when police are occupied with keeping order in times of unusual disturbance, they are less able or inclined to trouble about arresting drunken persons, and, further, that, speaking generally, the tendency to get drunk is curtailed by lack of money. Lastly, a street row is a powerful counter-attraction to the public-house. These considerations, moreover, are consistent with the figures at Liverpool, including the marked increase in arrests when the serious trouble was over and the railways and docks became very busy with the congestion of goods waiting to be handled. Therefore, in accordance with the general rule that, where there are common factors to be observed in connection with broadly similar results, undue weight should not be attributed to a single peculiar factor, the readiest explanation of the Liverpool phenomena, viz., that the decrease in arrests was due to the closing of licensed premises, cannot be accepted as established."

EXCLUSION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The entire exclusion of women and children from the public-house is another teetotal fad which has, unfortunately, become law. Sec. 120 of the Children Act makes it illegal for any child under fourteen years of age to be present in any bar or room wholly or mainly used for the consumption of alcoholic beverages. This was hailed with delight by many sentimentalists as a commendable restriction, but experience has already shown that it was a mistake from almost every point of view. Mr. Churchill was compelled to admit in the House of Commons on July 6th, 1910, that magistrates and others had expressed the opinion that the restriction had done more harm than good.

The following are two cases in point :—

" At Hammersmith Mr. Ingleby Oddie held an inquest on the body of Edith May Clark, aged two years. The mother said that she went inside a public-house to fetch some supper beer a few evenings ago, leaving her two children on the pavement. In her absence they ran into the roadway, and Edith was knocked down by a motor-omnibus. The only injury sustained was a cut on the leg, but blood poisoning supervened, and resulted in the child's death in the West London Hospital. The coroner remarked that this was one of the dangers of the Children Act—otherwise an admirable

measure. Parents were forbidden to take their children into a public-house, so that their morals might not be contaminated. The mother, therefore, had to leave her children outside if she went to get beer, and this sort of thing was liable to happen. The jury returned a verdict of ' Accidental Death.' "—(From the *Licensing World*, October 23rd, 1909.)

"Marie Tunstall, the licensee of the 'Red Lion and Key' public-house, Battle Bridge-lane, Bermondsey, was summoned at Tower Bridge, on Saturday last, for allowing a child, Eileen O'Connor, aged two years, to be in one of the bars ; and Ellen O'Connor, the mother, was summoned for causing the child to be there.—Mr. Rose said he did not suppose a child aged two would want to drink beer, but temptation must be kept from it at the earliest possible age. Even a too full feeding-bottle must not be placed near it in case it should drink to excess. He would be straining the Act if he decided that the licensee allowed the child to be in the bar, and the summons against her would be dismissed. The case in regard to the mother was different. She should not have allowed the child to have the shelter of the public-house ; it should have been left outside in the rain in a perambulator, with no one to look after it. Of course, if she were in the country she could put it in a disused horse-trough. — The mother was fined 5s."—(From the *Licensing World*, February 10th, 1910.)

The seventy-seventh Annual Report (1912) of the London City Mission contained the following reference to the new regulation :—

"There is a great difference of opinion as to the benefit of the Act of Parliament forbidding parents to take their children into public-houses. Many rejoice over it, whilst others grieve over the mothers going themselves instead, and the miserable condition of the children, who are frequently taken, and then left to shiver in the cold outside."

The following appeared in *The Daily News and Leader* (the chief organ of Radical Nonconformity) of February 10th, 1913 :—

"The serious increase of drinking among women is referred to in an interesting answer sent by a clergyman working in a poor Central London parish to one of the questions asked in connection with *The Daily News and Leader* religious survey.

"In reply to an inquiry as to how far the moral standard of the locality is lowered by any particular form of vice, the writer says :—' Lowered by drink, especially among women. The effect of late legislation, which keeps children out of public-houses, has been this—that women now drink outside public-houses, which is a scandal, and take more drink home than they used to do.' "

As an answer to the arguments upon which this grandmotherly regulation is based the following points should be noticed :—

Children breathe no worse air in public-houses than in their slum homes ; they hear no worse language there than in the streets, where they would otherwise be playing. It was not, as is insinuated, a general practice of parents to dose their children with intoxicating drink in public-houses ; those exceptional parents who were addicted to the practice would do the same thing in their homes. On the other hand, there is a point of view from which it is desirable actually to encourage a man to take his wife and children with him into a public-house. It is not only often a great convenience for him to be able to so do ; it is, as Mr. Burns has shown us, a guarantee of good behaviour ; and as the true development of the public-house lies in the direction of making it a general place of varied and reasonable refreshment, somewhat after the style of the continental café, it is vital to real reform to enact nothing which would hinder that development ; and the exclusion of children effectually hinders it.

XII.—STATE PURCHASE.

The State Purchase agitation is to some extent a growth from the “Disinterested Management” movement of which a good deal was heard a few years ago owing to the efforts of the Temperance Legislation League. The advocates of “Disinterested Management” wanted an extension to this country of the Scandinavian method, generally known as the Gothenburg system. The objects were to expropriate the existing licence holders, with or without a time limit, and to confine the issue of licences to specially constituted bodies of suitable persons who would be satisfied with a modest return of 4 or 5 per cent. on the capital invested, and devote any surplus profits to public purposes. It was thought that this would ensure “Disinterested Management,” *i.e.*, no inducement to push the sale of drink.

Recently the advocates of “Disinterested Management” have gone much farther with the same object in view; they now propose to secure it by turning the liquor trade into a State monopoly. The idea was pushed forward with very great vigour during the early years of the war, and at one time the idea so caught the fancy of large numbers, including statesmen, that the experiment looked imminent.

At first glance it would seem an extraordinarily inopportune time for engineering such a proposal, and one would wonder how it could have been seriously thought of at a time when the country’s energies were concentrated upon fighting the biggest war in history, and when in consequence the financial commitments of the nation were of an unexampled and absolutely terrifying character.

On the other hand the war involved the intrusion of the State into industry to such an extent that State control of commerce came to be regarded as a normal condition, and the idea of the Government owning and working the liquor business, which through the Liquor Control Board and in other ways was being more and more interfered with, did not shock the public mind as being in any way a strange experiment. Moreover, the idea appealed to various classes. Considerable numbers of prohibitionists gave their adhesion to it, because they thought they saw in it an avenue towards their own ideal: let the State acquire the trade, and then suppress it, was their notion. Others, as has been said, saw in it the chance of “Disinterested Management” on the grand scale. It appealed to politicians because of the power and patronage which would accompany it. It appealed to socialistically minded persons as carrying out with regard to one industry

their fundamental principle of suppressing private industry in enterprise and substituting for it State enterprise generally. And there were a few members of the brewing industry who saw in State Purchase, if anything like fair terms could be secured, an opportunity of getting out of a harassed and threatened business. The forces working on behalf of State Purchase were therefore formidable.

Whilst still Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George brought forward a proposal for State Purchase in the spring of 1915. It was based upon the report of a committee of which Mr. Herbert Samuel was chairman. The proposals need not be detailed here, since the scheme dropped.

State Purchase itself, however, continued to exercise the minds of some of those in authority, as well as the public, and further committees, one for England and Wales, one for Scotland, and one for Ireland, were afterwards appointed, in June, 1917, on the ground that "it may shortly be necessary as an urgent war measure to assume control of the manufacture and supply of intoxicating liquors during the war and the period of demobilisation, and that such control would involve the purchase after the war of the interests concerned in such manufacture and supply," "to inquire into and report upon the terms upon which those interests should be acquired and the financial arrangements which should be made for the period of control."

The Reports were published in the Spring of 1918. The following extracts from the official summary accompanying the Reports will indicate the nature of the committees' conclusions.

"The English and Scottish Committees give estimates of the cost of acquisition on the terms recommended. The

Irish Committee gives only certain materials for an estimate. From these data, after

The Recom- making necessary allowances, the gross total, **mendations.** so far as calculable, appears to be somewhat more than £400,000,000, but substantially less than £500,000,000" (p. 1). "Scotland is specially affected by the rights of local option exercisable in and after 1920 under the Scottish Temperance Act, 1913 . . .

"The Scottish Committee lay emphasis on the opposition which proposals of State Purchase would encounter if not accompanied by a definite understanding that purchase should not derogate from the rights of local option. At the same time they refer to 'well-informed and weighty opinion' received in evidence, that purchase might, by eliminating organised trade opposition, smooth the pathway to local veto.

"It is recommended that in Scotland the State should not

assume obligations to acquire any property interest in public-houses, but only the goodwill of the trading occupier. The State is to become the tenant of any premises in which it desires to continue the sale of drink; and provision is made for compensation to the owner if the liquor trade is discontinued on the premises (p. 1)."

"The fact that the manufacture of spirits and the spirit trade generally are of much greater relative importance in Scotland and Ireland than in England leads the Scottish and Irish Committees to make recommendations with regard to distillers and rectifiers, whereas the English Committee refrained from doing so, and left the point to be dealt with on the other reports.

"A similar reason underlies differences of recommendation as to the interests of the holders of wholesale liquor licences (not being manufacturers), including bottlers and blenders. The English Committee hold that no general acquisition of the businesses of English wholesale dealers is necessary to the administrative objects of a purchase scheme, and that so large a proportion of their trade is in wine and foreign spirits that their exclusion from a scheme to purchase the English manufacturing and retail businesses is consistent with equity. The Scottish and Irish Committees, on the contrary, contemplate the inclusion of wholesale dealers in a purchase scheme, because, owing to their greater dependence on home-manufactured as against imported liquor, these wholesale businesses are not equitably separable from the manufacture and retail sale of spirits in Scotland and Ireland for the purposes of acquisition by the State." (Page 1.)

"The Committees were led by the terms of reference to contemplate the deferment of purchase till after the war, purchase being preceded by a period of control of the trade by the State. While **Period of Control.** the recommendations of the English and Irish Committees assume this basis, the Scottish Committee (paragraphs 4 to 8 of their Report) appear at first sight to take exception to such an arrangement.

"No difference of principle, however, arises. All three Committees contemplate (1) that control can only be assumed under a statutory pledge of purchase, and (2) that the State, as from the assumption of control, should have absolute freedom of action in consolidating and re-organising the trade according to its will. The point of the Scottish Committee's argument is that the State, before assuming control, must accept liability to purchase upon terms appropriate to the existing conditions, and not defer a decision as to the terms of purchase until after a period of control. The Committee

expressly recognise the possibility of deferring the actual discharge of the capital liabilities of the State till after the war, provided that those liabilities are accepted prior to the assumption of control, and that *interim* payments on an income basis are made." (Page 2.)

"In one instance the Scottish Committee differ markedly from the other Committees on a question not apparently referable to any characteristic difference

Debenture-holders. of Scottish law or trade organisation. The English and the Irish Committees recommend statutory abrogation of the right of debenture-

holders and other holders of priorities, on the liquidation of brewery or other trade companies, to prior repayment up to the nominal value of their holdings. The Scottish Committee recommend (par. 151) that purchase should be made to operate as a legal liquidation of the company, and so give the debenture-holders and preference security holders the right to full repayment before the junior securities can receive any part of the purchase consideration." (Page 2.)

"The two main considerations on which the English Committee proceed under this head are (1) that in equity the

Form of Payment. trade should be bought out on the basis of the profit which it was capable of earning before the war capitalised initially at the rate of capitalisation which it could have

commanded before the war; and (2) that, at the time when the State's obligations come to be discharged, the conditions of the money market are likely to be very different from those of 1913-14, and the general standard of capital values substantially lower. As the degree of depreciation cannot now be predicted, they recommend that the sum arrived at under (1) should be written down to the standard of capital values prevailing when the purchase transaction comes to be completed, and that a special Government guaranteed stock should be issued at a denomination and issue price enabling it to command in the market cash equivalent to the sum so adjusted.

"The Scottish and Irish Committees affirm the same principle of purchase on the basis of pre-war profits at pre-war rates of capitalisation; they do not appear, however, to have taken expert financial evidence on the form in which the stock representing the purchase consideration should be issued (see par. 155 of the Scottish, and par. 64 of the Irish report); and they reserve the question of the form of payment for further consideration by the Government. They thus leave room for the adoption of the writing-down process recommended by the English Committee; the Irish Committee

indeed point in this direction by tentatively suggesting a 4 per cent. basis for the stock to be issued." (Page 3.)

"All three Committees agree as to the interests (apart from the wholesale dealers) which must be included in a purchase scheme, and as to those which can and should be excluded. All include the export trade as a subject of acquisition; all propose to exclude allied trades (subject, possibly, to some special provision with

What is to be purchased. regard to the maltsters), the major portion of hotels, clubs, railway refreshment rooms, theatre bars, passenger vessel bars, and dining cars, and the non-liquor part of mixed businesses.

"They agree in providing a normal basis of purchase for separate interests, with provisions for variations in exceptional cases by agreement with a Government purchasing authority or by reference to a tribunal or arbiter at the instance of either party.

"They agree in believing that the principle of ascertaining the purchase consideration by a simple capitalisation of net profits is proper for the majority of the interests concerned.

"They agree that the profits to be so capitalised must be the pre-war profits, and that the effect of war conditions on profits, whether favourable or the reverse, must be excluded. (According to the English and Irish reports, special rules are to be laid down for the ascertainment of these profits; under the Scottish report income-tax assessment would be taken.)" (Page 3.)

The gist of the recommendations, in so far as the brewing trade is concerned, is that breweries should be bought out in

England on a 15 years' purchase of net profits

Short Statement of the Terms. over the 4 years 1910-1914; in Scotland on 8 years' purchase (based on present conditions) of net profits over the 3 years 1911-13; and in Ireland on 13 years' purchase of net profits over the 5 years before the war.

The 15 years' purchase recommended in the English report "being based on pre-war conditions, the resulting capitalisation is to be adjusted according to the general standard of capital values prevailing at the date of the State's discharge of its capital liabilities. This covers all assets (subject to adjustment for increase or diminution since 1914) on a freehold basis. Freeholders of brewers' leasehold properties, and tenants' interests in any beneficial leases have to be satisfied out of this corpus. Profits to be determined on rules to be laid down, and include rent and income-tax (Schedule D)." (Page 80.)

The English Committee proposes to treat the licence-holders on the following scale:—

“ 1. Quâ owner of house. An appropriate Licences, &c. number of years' purchase of net rental.

“ 2. Quâ beneficial lessee, proper share of capital value of fee simple value of premises.

“ 3. Quâ occupier (tied or free) :—(1) Chattel interest at a valuation (2) Two years' purchase of net profit for personal goodwill of an annual tenant. More if on a lease with more than 2 years' unexpired term. (3) Pension if services not retained by State.

“ No interest in the premises to be acquired, unless in exceptional circumstances.

“ Quâ occupier :

“ 1. Chattel interest at a valuation.

“ 2A. If on annual tenancy, 2 years' purchase of net profits for goodwill.

“ 2B. If on longer term and a post-1902 licence, not more than 3 years' purchase.

“ 2C. If on longer term and a pre-1902 licence, number of years' purchase based on unexpired term.

“ No pension.

‘Dry business of grocers not to be acquired. Compensation for severance if claim made out, unless Government elect to purchase whole business.’ (Page 81.)

The Committees do not propose to purchase the businesses of maltsters.

As to hotels the English Committee proposes to “ purchase drinking bars at appropriate number of years' purchase of profits made therein, and deal by regulation with the remainder of their trade.” (Page 82.)

As to clubs “ no recommendation, as necessity for action is a managerial question.” (Page 82.)

Refreshment-rooms, dining cars, passenger vessels, and theatres are excluded.

The mode of payment suggested is to:—

Mode of Payment. “ 1. Adjust the result of capitalisation at pre-war multipliers according to the prevalent standard of capital values at the date of completion of purchase.

“ 2. Issue stock at a denomination and issue price enabling it to realise in the market at date of issue the sum arrived at by this adjustment.

“ 3. Pay amounts of under £500 in cash.” (Page 82.)

The rights of debenture holders are rather seriously impinged upon in the English and Irish Reports with the

recommendations that "the statute should abrogate their right to full repayment preferentially to the junior securities." (Page 82.)

As to cost of purchase the English Report estimates for England and Wales "£350,000,000 (excluding certain factors and before the process of writing down to general standard of capital values prevailing at date of issue of stock)." (Page 82.)

The Scottish Report has a figure of £61,000,000.

The Irish Report does not attempt an estimate.

The above are a few short extracts from a book which fills 82 big Blue Book pages, and it will be gathered that the subject is dealt with in voluminous detail.

Enigmatical Profits. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that the matter which will principally interest the taxpayer called upon to finance it, namely the extent of the profits, is not mentioned. We are shown that the purchase may involve the taxpayer in the enormous sum of £500,000,000 to be provided at a time when the country's financial condition, owing to the cost of the war, will be appalling. Of course the argument of the State purchasers is that the State will make, out of running the liquor business, profits which will go to ease the country's financial burden.

It would be a good national investment, they say. The State would eliminate the waste of commercial competition; it would make lots of money for the public exchequer by conducting this profitable trade as a State monopoly. Would it? The only certain financial result which could be predicted would be the inevitable loss of the taxation revenue, more than £60,000,000 a year, which it squeezes out of the trade in private hands. The waste of commercial operations in the hands of a bureaucracy may be regarded as a set-off against the eliminated waste of competition. And would the State be able to supply the cheapest quality at the highest price? The working-men's representatives would have something to say upon that point. Would the State be in a position to extend, or even maintain, the present trade? The teetotallers and their friends would have a great deal to say on the subject.

What is it they want? What else but the cessation of the drinking of malt liquors? Then whence is the State to earn the profit to pay for its expensive acquisition? "It could brew non-alcoholic ales," say some. Well, that experiment has been tried, under the auspices of the Liquor Control Board, and has proved a dismal failure. The beer-drinking public wants beer—not a liquid masquerading as beer. There is a danger that the existing low gravities will drive the nation to spirit drinking when spirits are again on sale at normal prices and in normal

quantities ; and that will not make either for national sobriety or the national health. It is no wonder then that the Committees appointed to report upon the finance of State purchase should have carefully kept away from the most interesting and fundamental question as to whether, and how much, the business would pay the country.

As to the recommendations which the Committees have made they may, perhaps, be not unfairly summed up in the words of a chairman of a great brewing company.

"The English Report is unintelligible ; no one can work out anything for his own brewery. The Scotch Report is fairly definite and intelligible, but very unfair to the trader. The Irish Report, of course, takes good care of the retailer."

The general opinion, on the publication of the reports, was that they sounded the knell of State purchase, and there were even cynical persons who said that a demonstration of the formidable obstacles in the way of State purchase was in the minds of those who appointed the committees.

TRUST PUBLIC-HOUSES.

Reference is often made to the Trust Public-houses in this country as proof that "disinterested management" can be successfully adopted. But how can the business be called disinterested when it is advertised as a safe 5 or 6 per cent. investment ?

On January 2nd, 1912, the following announcement, which speaks for itself, appeared in the "Morning Post" and other newspapers :—

"Earl Grey, who founded the Public-house Trust movement, yesterday issued a letter inviting the public to take up the £23,760 capital in Ordinary shares of £1 each, which the Home Counties Public-house Trust, Limited, have decided to raise to extend the field of their operations. In his letter Lord Grey says that the Trust now manages twenty-seven licensed houses, and that the experience of the company during the last three years shows that if it can be provided with sufficient capital to enable it to acquire additional houses the satisfactory financial results already attained will be further increased. *He therefore recommends the shares of the company as an investment which may be reasonably expected under present conditions to return an annual dividend of 5 per cent.*"

The words which we have printed in italics are evidently the pith of the appeal.

It is difficult to see what advantage can be claimed for the Trust Public-house in the matter of sobriety. The Trust Company, like a brewery company, has to depend on its

manager, and licence-holders of Trust Public-houses have been prosecuted from time to time for breaches of the licensing laws.

The disadvantages of municipal management have been set out by Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, who, in a letter read at a United Kingdom Alliance meeting at

Municipal Public-Houses. Birmingham, on November 27th, 1906, declared himself opposed to municipal management, saying "a licensing justice's experience had shown him that many of the municipally managed houses were amongst the worst in the town, while the protection that the name and influence of the corporation provided made them more difficult to control than those of private owners."

The experience of Norway and Sweden also puts municipal management out of court. The abuses which grew up when the profits went to the municipalities were so gross that those profits have now been diverted to the State.

Total agitators are never tired of decrying the "managed" and "tied" houses in this country, but the system of ownership or control by a brewery company insures all the advantages which

Managed and Tied Houses. can be claimed for "disinterested management." A brewery company with a large amount of money invested in this class of property dared not risk the forfeiture of a licence by any departure from the strict letter of the law.

The brewery companies keep their managers under very strict control and supervision, as will be seen by the following typical instructions which are printed on the back of the weekly cash return sheet of a leading brewery firm in the Midlands :—

" You must distinctly understand that the house belongs to —, and that you are here subject to your conduct being honest, steady, and obliging to your customers, and attentive to your duties.

" Your employers reserve to themselves the right to give you any notice whatever of their intention to dispense with your services, should they consider that you are either unsuitable for your duties, or that you are not complying with these rules.

" The company do not permit credit being given to anyone.

" Upon no account to allow drunken persons to remain on the premises and not to sell or supply them with anything whatsoever. In the event of being deceived, return the money, and request the person to leave the premises at once.

" If the police should make any charge of drunkenness,

and there be any doubt as to the condition of the person so charged, the manager or barman will detain the person; call the attention of the customers present to the person's condition, and ascertain their names and addresses. Notice the time and ask the customers to note any conversation that passes on the subject; and as early as convenient take the person to the nearest doctor, and again note the time, which is very important. Report the circumstances immediately at the company's head office.

"Upon no pretext to serve a policeman in uniform, unless you are of opinion or have reasonable proof that he is off duty.

"Betting or gambling in any form is not to be permitted.

"Neither managers nor barmen are to smoke in the bar or bar parlours.

"Known prostitutes are not to be encouraged to frequent the house, and on no account to allow them to come and go, without their intention is to get refreshments, in which case they must not remain longer than is reasonable for consuming those refreshments.

"Music, dancing, singing, except where licensed, and bad language are to be strictly forbidden.

"Neither managers nor barmen are to be out except by permission of the superintendent.

"Managers or barmen are not to receive any money or valuables for safe keeping.

"The hour of closing is to be rigidly observed, and all customers and friends off the premises.

"No presents of any kind, under any circumstances, are to be given away."

Similar rules are attached to the forms of agreement with all managers.

We may deplore the disappearance of the old-fashioned Boniface who owned his own house, and has been driven out largely by repressive legislation. At the same time it ill becomes the temperance and teetotal agitators to rail at the "tied" and "managed" houses which realise all the advantages claimed for disinterested management. The few free publicans who still survive have also everything to lose by bad management, and the drunkard is, of course, recognised as their worst enemy.

XIII.—PUBLIC - HOUSE IMPROVEMENT AND TRADE RECONSTRUCTION.

The true lines of temperance reform are now marked out. They lie in the conversion of the public-houses throughout the country into real public refreshment houses. That of course is something more than mere temperance reform, which itself, in view of the increasing sobriety of the people, is not of so great importance as teetotallers would have us believe : it is also a social improvement apart altogether from the question of staying excess. The public house can be made a much more useful and agreeable institution, and being practicable the public has a right to look for it. Owing to the greater self control of the people there is no need to banish fermented beverages from places of recreation. Further, when these beverages are supplied under better conditions than obtained in the tap room as teetotal licensing benches have made it, there will be still less likelihood of excess, and every prospect of greater moderation among those who might otherwise be tempted to excess.

These principles have animated the policy of all real temperance reformers for some years past, and in particular that of the True Temperance Association.

TRUE TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

The True Temperance Association on July 25th, 1916, held a Conference of its leading members and others, including Lord D'Abernon, the Chairman of the Liquor Control Board, and from this conference dates a serious effort to show the way to public-house improvement in greater detail than had hitherto been done. The following are extracts from the Report of a Committee appointed at that Conference :—

“ At the meeting of the Conference on July 25th, 1916, the following resolution was passed :—

‘ That this Conference welcomes the policy of transforming public-houses in accordance with modern needs, and in the interests of true temperance, which the Control Board has initiated in the houses it has acquired, and in order that a similar transformation may be effected in the many thousands of houses in private hands, suggests that permission and encouragement to their owners to follow the Board’s example should be given ; the details of the scheme to be worked out by a committee.’

“ Your Committee was accordingly formed, and comprised

the Earl of Plymouth (Chairman), Sir William Bennett, M.D., Mr. Gordon Selfridge and Mr. Ernest Williams ; Lord Lamington joined subsequently.

" We began our work by drafting a memorandum, discussing the lines along which the desired changes could best be secured, and circulated copies among those interested, in order to focus the question, and establish a basis for discussion. The Memorandum is as follows :—

" THE PRINCIPLES.

" Temperance is an individual virtue, and therefore can only be practised in conditions of individual freedom. This applies to temperance in the consumption of fermented and distilled beverages as to other forms of temperance. In regarding temperance in its social aspect (which is our present purpose) we must keep this fundamental principle in mind. We must not rely upon forcible restrictive or prohibitive measures in our efforts to encourage the growth of temperance.

" The State as a coercive institution is entitled to prosecute punitive measures against public and disorderly drunkenness, and to take such steps as may be necessary to maintain public order. To the extent that the sale of intoxicating liquors induces a disorderly nuisance it is within the province of the State to impose restrictions upon, and exercise supervision over, the sale. This represents the extent of the State's functions in encouraging temperance by forcible discouragement of intemperance. Account is not taken here of any further restrictions or supervision by the State which the exigencies of such an abnormal situation as is engendered by the present war may make desirable. We are speaking of ordinary conditions.

" In the main, then, temperance, apart from State action against disorderly drunkenness, is an individual matter. It is neither for a voluntary organisation nor for the State to prescribe what a man shall eat or drink, or how he shall amuse himself. In the last resort each man settles those things for himself. But other individuals and organisations can help by example and precept to raise the standard of temperance, and conditions can be created (otherwise than by restriction) which will encourage temperance. And here we have to deal with two other bodies—the State and the Trade.

" The State includes, as well as the executive government and the legislature, all who are engaged in the administration of the licensing law, *i.e.*, the code of government affecting the sale of fermented and distilled beverages. The *Trade* is the generic term applied colloquially to the manufacturers of the different beverages and the owners and keepers of the premises upon which they are sold.

" It may be asked, where does the State come in, consistent with the limitations of its functions in accordance with the principles enunciated above? We answer, the State comes in as an existing fact. The business of purveying alcoholic liquors has, for good or evil, been surrounded with a mesh-work of State regulations. The State, moreover, has deeply committed itself through taxation, whereby it relies upon the trade for a large part of its revenue. It is appropriate, therefore to ask the State that it shall so order its regulations and taxation as, while not interfering with the dietary and habits of free citizens, to assist the formation of those conditions which are best calculated to encourage temperance.

" For some years past the True Temperance Association has preached the doctrine that temperance in drinking depends in no small measure upon the environment in which the drink is consumed. Hitherto the Association has been rather a voice in the wilderness, though commanding a constantly growing, if not very articulate, body of support. Its point of view has now received official confirmation from the new war executive body—the Liquor Control Board. The confirmation is all the more noteworthy because the Control Board has very rigorously shown itself to have no *parti pris* in favour of either drinkers or the traders who supply them. On the contrary, it has startled the country by the drastic and ruthless character of the restrictions which it has imposed. Nevertheless this is the very body which has now proclaimed that there is another way—the way of the True Temperance Association—the civilising of the environment of public refreshment. And to translate this principle into practice the Board has acquired a few public-houses and is experimenting with the new idea.

" The function of the State now becomes apparent. Leaving aside the enormous question of the State purchase of the whole of the liquor trade of the country—a proposition bristling with difficulties and destined to a storm of opposition from most varied quarters—it is clear that the experiment of the Control Board can serve only as an example. There are in this country some 90,000 public-houses and similar institutions in the hands of private traders, and the problem is how to obtain their transformation. Here it is that the State can assist. It can remit taxation so as to encourage the commercial enterprise involved in the process, and it can lighten its heavy and unnecessary and often harmful burden of regulations so as to make the transformed house a workable idea.

" The METHOD.

" Clearly the trade is entitled to ask for financial help. The transformation of the public-house is not a mere matter

of spending money, and a great deal can be done with a small expenditure. Nevertheless, to carry out the idea upon any adequate scale will involve expenditure ; and though in the long run it will probably mean the salvation of the trade, it will also involve commercial risk ; and the trade is not now in a position to raise capital easily, nor would it be fair to ask it to do so, without some compensating help.

" Before 1909 the trade contributed nearly a third of the national revenue. The Finance Act of that year heavily increased the licence duties. More unfavourable legislation has been threatened, which has exercised a depressing influence on the financial position of the trade ; and the war has been the occasion for very large increases in the taxation of beer, for drastic restrictions upon sale, and now upon output also. It will be the barest justice, as well as good policy, to give the owners of public-houses financial encouragement to embark upon the new order.

" A standard of improvement should be set up, and to the houses which reach the standard a certificate that the house is an 'Improved Public-House' should be given by the licensing authority. A house carrying such a certificate should be entitled to deduct 50 per cent. from its licence duty, and not be called upon to pay any part of the compensation levy (for such houses would not need to come under the Reduction and Compensation scheme). *This is our first proposition.* It would mean legislation, but nothing complicated. A quite simple Bill would suffice.

" The Liquor Control Board has, of course, found it necessary, in respect to the houses which it has acquired, to get out of the mesh of the multitudinous restrictions of the licensing laws, many of which were either deliberately aimed against, or were in effect hostile to, the development of public-houses upon rational lines. The Board adopted the very effective method of making a clean cut of the whole licensing laws, freeing itself from them *en bloc*. It is not proposed to do anything so drastic in the case of the houses in private hands ; but *houses holding the 'Improved' certificate should be freed from such of the restrictions as the Board has found from its own experience to be useless or mischievous.* This is our second proposition. As the exemption from taxation and from the hampering restrictions would be needed in advance by public-house owners contemplating improvement, provisional certificates available for six months should be granted to applicants desirous of earning the certificate.

" A more difficult question is the authority in which the granting of the certificate should be vested. We have the licensing committees of county and borough benches (subject for some purposes to the control of quarter sessions) and we

have also at the present moment the Liquor Control Board, really in supreme control of all public-houses. The Board would therefore be naturally marked out for the purpose, were it not that it is, as at present constituted, a purely temporary body to end with the war. In view of the divergence of practice among the enormous number of licensing benches throughout the country, the Control Board should prove more efficient and uniform, and therefore both just and convenient. But the temporary character of the Board is a difficulty. The solution will probably be found in a working arrangement between the Board and the Justices—the Board initiating and preparing the way for the permanent licensing authority to follow later.

“THE IDEAL.

“ As well as the State we have mentioned the trade as a necessary factor in the work of fostering temperance through transforming drinking methods. That its co-operation is essential is indeed obvious ; and that is why we have emphasised, and paid some detailed attention to, the inducement which should be offered to public-house owners to embark upon the programme. But these will naturally ask—they do in fact ask, when the topic is discussed : What is it that you want ? This, therefore, is the place in which to sketch in brief outline what is meant by a transformed public-house.

“ Let it be said in the first place that there is no single type of public-house to be aimed at. If the scheme is to be practical there could not be ; for conditions, with their accompanying needs and demands are so various. And that is the answer to any public-house owner who points in scepticism and criticism to premises which would not lend themselves to a particular type of improved public-house which is outlined to him. It is also a warning to reformers who pin themselves to a special description of house—the canteen with solid meals always available, or the big room with glazed front of the French café type. *There is room for almost infinite variety.* One difficulty in the way of this variety exists, it is true : the settlement of a standard of improvement for the earning of the certificate is rendered thereby more difficult ; but that only means the exercise of a little more imagination and the taking of a little more trouble by the authority.

“ The transformed public-house develops out of a consideration of the possible and legitimate uses of a public refreshment house. People away from home on business or pleasure are apt to need a resting place, a place for transacting temporary and casual business, a place in which to meet acquaintances, a place in which to pass a leisure hour in warmth, light and comfort, and with amusements. They also need a place in

which they can find food and drink—the food, may be a full meal, may be merely a light collation ; the drink, may be one of the usual fermented beverages, may be a cup of tea or coffee. Those are the wants which a public-house should supply. We need only to keep these desiderata in mind ; the rest is a matter of detailed elaboration. Variety in this elaboration is essential, because not every house would have the same facilities, nor would every house have the same demands made upon it. A house in a congested town quarter could not provide a bowling green, nor a small country inn an orchestra, and the demands upon a house at the gates of a factory would obviously differ from those of one in Regent Street.

“ There are a few things, however, which all should have in common—reasonably comfortable seating accommodation, some kind of food supply, other beverages besides beer and spirits, some opportunity of recreation (if only a game of dominoes) and such adjuncts of a house of call as decent lavatory arrangements, accommodation for writing letters, &c.

“ From this simple common foundation the public taste, the needs of a locality, and the enterprise and imagination of licensees acting under the spur of healthy competition—(we want no more monopoly and restriction of licences)—can build up an infinitely varied number of edifices which would be socially useful, proper for both sexes and all classes, a gain to the amenities of life, and a real encouragement to temperance.

“ Some would make music their special feature, some provision for indoor games, others outdoor amusements ; mid-day and evening meals would be an important feature of some, of others afternoon tea, or after-dinner coffee ; some would rely upon their light and spaciousness, others their quiet and cosiness—for the small house as such need not be left out. The subject could be pursued almost indefinitely. Regarded with imagination and common sense, the public-house has a magnificent future.

“ But there must be an end upon the part of licensees and owners to the idea that their business is to sell beer, and nothing else, except cheap spirits ; upon the part of licensing justices, to the idea that the public-house is an evil, and the publican’s enterprise to be checked at every point ; upon the part of the public, to the notion that entry into a public-house is a thing to be ashamed of, until one has got low enough not to mind ; upon the part of temperance reformers, to the theory that public refreshment and recreation must be dissociated from the consumption of those beverages which are good and harmless in moderation, and which all the world

has always demanded, and which have Divine sanction ; and upon the part of the legislature, to the idea that 'drink' is an institution to be treated alternately as a milch cow and as a mad dog." (Pages, 1, 2, 3 and 4.)

The Report then goes on to recount the interviews which the committee had with various representative people including labour representatives ; with regard to them the Report states :—

" We have also had an extremely interesting interview with representatives of Labour, including Mr. W. Thorne, M.P. They gave their hearty adhesion to our programme, and declared their belief that 90 per cent. of the working classes would adopt it with equal enthusiasm. They were emphatic that the workman wanted, and had a right to demand, a better type of public-house, to which he could take his wife and family; freedom from irritating restrictions on alcoholic refreshment, such as those which have been imposed by the Liquor Control Board ; and at the same time the provision of more opportunity for other kinds of refreshment and amusement in public-houses. They approved the idea of setting up a standard of improvement, which they thought should be simplified by applying the same standard to all the houses in a given district. On the question of the licensing authority they expressed a preference for a committee of the local authority, which committee should exercise continued control over houses, as well as granting the initial certificates."

The Committee summarises its conclusions as follows :—

" 1. It would conduce substantially to the spread of temperance, as well as to the general comfort and well-being of the community if the houses in which excisable beverages are sold were developed into real public refreshment houses, with due provision for the consumption of other beverages, besides those which are alcoholic ; of food, where the demand existed ; of comfortable seating and other accommodation—of conveniences for writing letters, telephoning, &c. ; and of entertainment, such as games and music, adapted to the locality and the class of customers. The whole appearance and tone of the house should, and by the intelligent and effective carrying out of these improvements would, be changed for the better to such a degree as to bring about a complete transformation of the public-house, making it of real social utility.

" 2. We regard this transformation as perfectly practicable. Here and there tentative efforts in the direction have been made (in the teeth of varied discouragements) by the owners of licensed houses ; and the Liquor Control Board has further

experimented in one or two houses under its management. These preliminary essays admit of indefinite extension and development. And such extension and development are well within the range of practicability.

" 3. But it appears to us that there are three necessary conditions precedent : (a) A number of licensing restrictions must be removed or modified ; (b) some financial advantages must be given to those owners of licensed houses who are prepared to embark upon a commercial experiment, entailing some expenditure and some (if little) risk ; and (c) a change in the present system of licensing administration.

" 4. With regard to condition (a) it is important to note that the Liquor Control Board at the beginning of its career appreciated the necessity for the easing of the multitudinous and hampering restrictions upon the trade by absolving itself from all existing licensing restrictions (see Regulations of the Board, Nos. 9, 10 and 11.) We do not propose such a sweeping grant of liberty to the trade ; but it is essential to the development of public-houses upon rational lines that such restrictions as those which at present exist upon providing more ample accommodation, amusements and conveniences, should be removed—in the case, at least, of "improved" houses. As to the nature and methods of granting this freedom we recommend the adoption of procedure upon the lines suggested in the draft Bill attached to this Report (Appendix B.).

" 5. With regard to condition (b) we would point out that many of the best houses are owned by companies least able financially to embark upon experiments costing money or entailing any risk ; also that the financial and other burdens which the State has accumulated upon the trade in recent years (really making the State a compulsory partner in the trade) point in any case to the justice of granting financial assistance to those upon whom would fall the burden of initiating this great social work. But we do not recommend anything in the nature of a pecuniary grant. Our proposal is that "improved public-houses" should have a substantial rebate upon the licence duty, and should not be subjected to contribution to the fund which has been established for compensating the owners of quite a different kind of public-house. This proposal could quite easily be embodied in a Finance Bill (see Appendix B.)

" 6. With regard to condition (c) we recommend the establishment in each county (in sparsely populated areas, groups of counties) of a Board of Commissioners, three in number, who (or the chairman) would be paid. To these

Commissioners would be given the power to grant certificates to "improved public-houses"—*i.e.*, licensed houses reaching a certain standard of improvement on the lines set out in the first paragraph. They would further have general control of licensing administration, and it would therefore no longer be necessary to appoint licensing committees of justices ; but the general body of the justices in the division or borough, or the stipendiary or police court magistrate (as the case may be), could retain the routine functions of police administration.

"7. In order to secure uniformity among the different Boards of Commissioners, statutory or Home Office regulations should be devised ; they would be a controlling guide to the Commissioners and indicate the "standards" of improvement necessary to earn the certificate and its concomitant advantages. In order to secure the variety, according to the different circumstances of different houses, which is essential to the wide extension and success of the proposal, the "standards" should be various also. There would be some essentials common to all—such as the provision of seating and lavatory accommodation and non-alcoholic beverages, but in other respects the requirements would vary with the neighbourhood and the type of house : different improvements would be wanted in a small country inn from those desired in a big town house ; and in a house in the East End of London the character of the appointments would be tried by a standard differing from that which would be applied to premises in the West End. It would be the duty of the Commissioners to impress upon the owners of houses that the standard is a minimum and not a maximum, and is not intended to discourage further experiment and development.

(Signed) PLYMOUTH.
LAMINGTON.
WILLIAM H. BENNETT.
GORDON SELFRIDGE.
ERNEST E. WILLIAMS."

The programme subsequently received the adhesion of a large number of signatories representative of almost every interest in the country. The following names will indicate how wide is the approval. They are only a few specimens, but will suffice for the purpose :—The Bishop of Birmingham ; Sir Jas. Crichton Browne ; Mr. Will Thorne, M.P. ; Fr. Bernard Vaughan ; Mr. George R. Sims ; the Earl of Halsbury ; the Editor of the *Morning Post* ; Mr. Hilaire Belloc ; the Editor of the *Spectator* ; Lord Edmund Talbot, M.P. ; Mr. E. F. Benson, and Mr. Louis Zangwill.

THE PUBLIC HOUSE IMPROVEMENT BILL.

In 1918 the Executive Committee of the True Temperance Association drafted a Bill to carry out the above proposals of the Conference. It is as follows :—

BE IT ENACTED, ETC.

1. For the purpose of granting licences for the sale by retail of exciseable or intoxicating liquors and for the exercise of the other powers hereinafter referred to **Appointment of Commissioners.** in this Act it shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council from time to time to appoint Commissioners (hereinafter called "County Commissioners") with the powers and duties defined in this Act.

2. (1) The County Commissioners shall exercise their powers within the counties, or groups of counties, to which they shall be appointed, and the delimitation of such county areas shall be made by **Areas, &c., of Commissioners'** His Majesty by Order in Council.

Jurisdiction. (2) To each county area there shall be appointed three Commissioners, of whom one, to act as Chairman, shall be the judge of one of the County Courts districts, or a police-court or stipendiary magistrate.

(3) There shall be paid, out of the Consolidated Fund, by the Treasury to each of such Commissioners (except the Chairman) remuneration at the rate of one thousand pounds a year, and to the Chairman remuneration at the rate of five hundred pounds a year, which said remuneration shall be additional to his salary as judge or magistrate. Provided that it shall be lawful for the Treasury to allow to each Commissioner such sum as the Treasury shall deem needful to defray his travelling expenses.

(4) The appointments of the Commissioners shall be for such time as His Majesty in Council may determine, and any Commissioner may be removed by Order in Council for inability or misbehaviour on the recommendation of the Secretary of State.

(5) There shall be allotted to each group of Commissioners such clerks and other assistants and such office accommodation as shall be from time to time determined by the Rules to be made under this Act ; and such expenses shall be paid by the Treasury in respect thereof as the Treasury, in accordance with such Rules or otherwise, where not provided for in the Rules, shall determine.

3. The County Commissioners shall exercise all the powers hitherto exercised by the licensing justices at annual and other licensing meetings and by the confirming authorities under the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1910, in respect to the grant, transfer and taking away of licences for the sale by retail of intoxicating liquors, and the grant of protection orders, &c., in respect of the same, subject to such regulations as to procedure as shall be made from time to time in the Rules to be framed as hereinafter provided and on and after a date to be determined by His Majesty by Order in Council the powers and duties so exercised hitherto by the said justices and authorities shall cease and determine.

Committee to frame Rules.

4. (1) So soon as convenient after the passing of this Act the Secretary of State shall nominate a Rules Committee, consisting of five members, one of whom shall be a judge of the High Court of Justice, one a County Court Judge, and one a police-court or stipendiary magistrate, who shall compile rules for the regulation of the procedure of the County Commissioners and any other matters concerned with the carrying into effect of the provisions of this Act, in so far as they are not specifically provided for in this Act.

(2) The Rules referred to in sub-section (1) shall when framed be submitted to His Majesty in Council, and when approved by Order in Council shall have effect as though their provisions were specifically enacted in this Act.

(3) The Rules Committee shall continue in being, subject to any alterations which may be made in its membership from time to time by the Secretary of State, and it shall amend or alter or add to the Rules from time to time when required so to do by Order in Council, and subject to the like confirmation and approval as in the case of the original Rules.

Improved Public-house Certificate.

5. Where licensed premises are not merely places for the consumption of intoxicating liquors, but contain adequate provision in view of the character of the house and the wants of the neighbourhood for the supply of other refreshments, and are airy, commodious and comfortable, and have proper seating and sanitary accommodation and contain provision for suitable recreation to the satisfaction of the County Commissioners, the Commissioners shall, on the application of the licence holder, when the application for the grant or renewal of the licence is heard, issue a certificate

to the effect that the premises form an "improved public-house"; and thereupon, until such certificate shall have been lawfully withdrawn, such premises shall enjoy all the privileges and exemptions attaching to an improved public-house under this Act or any Act to be hereafter passed. Such certificate shall not be withdrawn except after reasonable notice to the holder thereof and to the owner of the premises, and after reasonable opportunity has been given to the said holder and owner to be heard in opposition to such withdrawal.

6. Notwithstanding anything in any public or private Act contained every licence for the sale of intoxicating liquors to be sold on the premises, if the holder there-

Entertainments in Licensed Premises. of is also the holder of an "improved public-house" certificate, shall be deemed to comprise all licences which would otherwise be necessary in order that theatrical and musical and similar entertainments might be given, or dancing permitted, upon the licensed premises (including buildings or gardens attached thereto) save that the County Commissioners, if they think that good order or public morals would be endangered by dancing on the premises, may prohibit such dancing. And the Commissioners may in any case impose upon the conduct of dancing, as well as of other entertainments upon licensed premises, such conditions as may appear to them to be required in the interests of order and public safety.

Children on Licensed Premises. 7. No prohibition of the presence of children upon licensed premises contained in any Act for the time being in force shall apply to premises to which an "improved public-house" certificate is attached.

8. Section 72 of the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1910, relating to structural alterations of licensed premises is hereby repealed, but the County Commissioners

Plans of Licensed Premises. may, upon any application to them for the grant or continuance of a licence or an "improved public-house" certificate, demand that the applicant shall produce before them plans of his premises or of any proposed alterations in them, and may take the nature of the premises as thus indicated into consideration in determining whether they are suitable for the grant of a licence or of a certificate.

9. Any person aggrieved by a decision of the County Commissioners may appeal on a question of law (including the question whether judicial discretion has been exercised

Appeals. by the Commissioners) to the High Court of Justice by way of case stated in like manner as from a Court of Summary Jurisdiction; and the provisions

of the Summary Jurisdiction Acts relating to the stating of cases for the opinion of the High Court shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to appeals from the County Commissioners.

10. The holder of an "improved public-house" certificate shall be entitled to a rebate of one half the **Rebate of Licence Duty.** amount of any licence duty payable by him under the Finance (1909-1910) Act, 1910, or any Act amending the same in respect of the premises to which the certificate applies.

11. No charge shall be payable to the **Remission of Compensation Charge.** compensation authority under sec. 21 of the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1910, in respect to premises to the holder of the licence for which an "improved public-house" certificate has been granted.

Short Title. 12. This Act may be cited as the Public House Improvement Act, 1918.

TRADE RECONSTRUCTION.

The trade has itself considered the question of putting its business upon a better footing. A Committee of the Trade, on February 20th, 1918, put out the following Formula :—

"In view of opportunities for reconstruction which the termination of the war will afford, it is desirable to promote reforms which will improve the conditions under which the Licensed Trade is carried on, and to provide a better service to the Public, thereby making for temperance.

"Such reforms must recognise amongst others the following principles :—

"1. That measures which curtail freedom do not necessarily promote sobriety.

"2. That the function of the State is to maintain public order and to punish drunkenness, but not to decide, except as to the purity of the article supplied, what a man shall eat and drink.

"3. That existing licensing machinery should be so modified as to provide a system which shall ensure uniformity of administration, and that such modification should be in the direction of setting up judicial tribunals operating over wide areas on uniform principles, with an appeal from their decisions to a single central authority presided over by a High Court Judge.

"4. That, where the number of licences is excessive, reduction should be brought about with due regard to all interests affected, accompanied by facilities for the improvement of those licensed premises which remain, and for the removal of licences to developing districts.

" 5. That improvements which involve an enlargement of premises and provide opportunities for greater social amenities are more in the interests of temperance than a rigid adherence to existing restrictions on licensed premises."

It will be noted that the trade's own principles of reform are in close agreement with those published by the True Temperance Conference, though the programme of the trade naturally covers a wider field.

It is also obvious that the trade is preparing a genuine programme of reform and improvement, and one which is far more in accordance with common sense, the needs of the public, and true temperance, than are the fanatical and unjust and illiberal proposals of the teetotallers.

SOME OPINIONS ON PUBLIC-HOUSE REFORM.

It has been said above that the proposals of the True Temperance Conference have received the endorsement of large numbers of representative men; we may add here a number of recorded expressions of opinion.

Mr. A. J. Balfour said in a speech at the Royal Albert Hall on June 25th, 1908 :

" I have sometimes doubted whether, in the long series of legislative enactments connected with the sale of alcohol in this country, we have not been on the wrong track. On the Continent, at all events, you see, and everybody who has been there must rejoice to see, a man and his family going to enjoy music, it may be under cover in the winter, or in the open air in the summer, hearing the band and enjoying nature and art, and accompanying that enjoyment by consumption of lager beer and alcohol, which is rarely, in such circumstances, used to excess. Who but must regret that we see so little of that in this country, and that when a poor man desires—not a rich man—but when a poor man desires to consume alcohol, even in the utmost moderation, you, for the most part, compel him to go to a house in which you have forbidden, by the police and other regulations, anything to take place except the bare sale of food and drink ? "

The Bishop of Chester wrote in *Chambers's Journal* of December, 1909 :

" To reform the public-house is a sounder and more hopeful aim than the policy of prohibition or even mere reduction. . . . and it is well known that the virtue of self-respect is imperceptibly reinforced in an atmosphere of wholesome comfort."

The Bishop of Worcester said, in addressing his clergy in September, 1909 :

" What was wanted was not so much the destruction of public-houses as their reform. Those who observed the life of the people would see that outdoor enjoyment and the use of places of public recreation were rapidly becoming popular habits. It was vain, then, to attempt to close such houses and equally vain to expect to prohibit altogether the consumption of beer. What a nation wanted was a more frank recognition that some kind of a public-house is a national necessity. He had little doubt that the best members of the Trade were sincerely desirous of making their houses places of general meeting and of innocent recreation and refreshment, and they would be helped to accomplish that more truly by sympathetic than by vindictive legislation."

The late Sir Laurence Gomme (Clerk to the London County Council), writing in the *Weekly Dispatch* of June 23rd, 1912, said :

" Every citizen has a right to go where he will in order to obtain what food and drink he requires, and he should be able to do so under the pleasantest surroundings. Anyone travelling abroad takes his coffee after luncheon or dinner at the ordinary café, if he does not take luncheon or dinner there as a matter of choice. Coming back to the city life imposed upon him here, he shuns the public-house of his own neighbourhood because he has a code of social rules which must be obeyed and he takes his food in the public-house of the neighbourhood where he works. And under what conditions ! Under every possible condition except that of comfort. Standing up, crowded into narrow corners, hustled and jostled into conditions of discomfort which are quite astounding to those who do not share the daily routine. Why English people should so patiently tolerate such a state of things when they know by experience how much better they could be arranged is one of the mysteries of the national character.

" The open-air café system would minister not to one class only. It would be open to all and used by all. They would no doubt congregate in classes—the expensive and the cheap. The working man would thus be provided for as well as those who are better off. Indeed, it is because largely of the general usefulness of the scheme that the time seems appropriate for advocating it. There is a great increase in the number of men who need such a convenience— bachelor men who do not live in their homes, and who with the reasonable attractions of a meal under pleasant surroundings would congregate where they best found their needs attended to. And there is in

addition a whole set of people, in the shape of independent women workers, school mistresses, typists, clerks, attendants, and even shop assistants, for whom the *al fresco* meal would be a great boon.

"I am profoundly convinced that a change in the direction I have briefly indicated would lead to reforms, the benefits of which cannot be readily measured. The comradeship of the café would take the place of the individual secrecy of the public-house. The wife would accompany the husband on many occasions, and there would arise a new way of family enjoyment which would make glad some of the drab days of many a middle-class or working-class home."

XIV.—TAXATION.

In the matter of taxation the alcoholic beverages trade has been regarded as the milch cow of successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, who have sought to justify their impositions by pleading the need for more revenue, while at the same time they have salved the public conscience by representing the taxation as a means of decreasing the consumption of alcoholic beverages. There is a curious contradiction in this double plea, because the success of the one object would defeat the other.

With regard to the taxation of alcoholic beverages John Stuart Mill, in his *Essay on Liberty*, writes :—

John Stuart Mill on Taxation. “ To tax stimulants for the sole purpose of making them more difficult to be obtained is a measure differing only in degree from their entire prohibition, and would be justifiable only if that were justifiable. Every increase of cost is a prohibition to those whose means do not come up to the augmented price ; and to those who do, it is a penalty laid on them gratifying a particular taste. Their choice of pleasures, and their mode of expending their income, after satisfying their legal and moral obligations to the State and to individuals, are their own concern, and must rest with their own judgment. These considerations may seem at first sight to condemn the selection of stimulants as special subjects of taxation for purposes of revenue. But it must be remembered that taxation for fiscal purposes is absolutely inevitable ; that in most countries it is necessary that a considerable part of that taxation should be indirect ; that the State, therefore, cannot help imposing penalties, which to some persons may be prohibitory, on the use of some articles of consumption. It is hence the duty of the State to consider, in the imposition of taxes, what commodities the consumers can best spare ; and *a fortiori*, to select in preference those of which it deems the use, beyond a very moderate quantity, to be positively injurious. Taxation, therefore, of stimulants, up to the point which produces the largest amount of revenue (supposing that the State needs all the revenue which it yields) is not only admissible, but to be approved of.

“ The question of making the sale of these commodities a more or less exclusive privilege, must be answered differently according to the purposes to which the restriction is intended to be subservient. All places of public resort require the constraint of a police, and places of this kind peculiarly, because

offences against society are especially apt to originate there. It is, therefore, fit to confine the power of selling these commodities (at least for consumption on the spot) to persons of known or vouched for respectability of conduct; to make such regulations respecting hours of opening and closing as may be requisite for public surveillance, and to withdraw the licence if breaches of the peace repeatedly take place through the connivance or incapacity of the keeper of the house, or if it becomes a rendezvous for concocting and preparing offences against the law. Any further restriction I do not conceive to be, in principle, justifiable. The limitation in number, for instance, of beer and spirit houses, for the express purpose of making them more difficult of access, and diminishing the occasions of temptation, not only exposes all to an inconvenience because there are some by whom the facility would be abused, but is suited only to a state of society in which the labouring classes are avowedly treated as children or savages, and placed under an education of restraint, to fit them for future admission to the privileges of freedom. This is not the principle on which the labouring classes are professedly governed in any free country, and no person who sets due value on freedom will give his adhesion to their being so governed, unless after all efforts have been exhausted to educate them for freedom and govern them as freemen, and it has been definitely proved that they can only be governed as children. The bare statement of the alternative shows the absurdity of supposing that such efforts have been made in any case which needs be considered here. It is only because the institutions of this country are a mass of inconsistencies that things find admittance into our practice which belong to the system of despotic, or what is called paternal, government, while the general freedom of our institutions precludes the exercise of the amount of control necessary to render the restraint of any real efficacy as a moral education."

Even before the passing of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, and the imposition of the special war duties, the Trade was contributing nearly a third of the total tax revenue of the Imperial Exchequer, to say nothing of local exactions. The burden had increased. The following record of Beer Duties will show:—

The malt tax, at the time of its repeal in 1880, amounted to something under 22s. per quarter of malt or its equivalent. That sum was increased by Mr. Gladstone, in the form of beer duty to an average for the four years 1881-5 of 24s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d., or over 10 per cent. In 1889 Mr. Goschen, by a change in the standard of gravity, added about 3d. a barrel, and in 1890 he

practically reimposed it, earmarking 3d. a barrel for licence purchase purposes. The money was not used for such purposes, but no relief was given. In 1894 Sir W. Harcourt added 6d. a barrel; and in 1900 Sir M. Hicks Beach added a further 1s. a barrel "temporarily," but that 1s. was made permanent by Mr. Asquith. A further imposition was the brewers' licence duty, introduced by Mr. Lloyd George in 1909, which is equal to 3d. a barrel.

The Beer Duty was increased threefold at one stroke in November, 1914, to provide for the cost of the war. The duty was raised from 7s. 9d. to 25s. per standard barrel, with a rebate of 2s. per barrel up to March 31st, 1916, and 1s. per barrel from that date up to March 31st, 1917. It was estimated that the additional yield would be about £15,200,000 in the first full year, but that estimate was largely exceeded. In 1918, the Beer Duty was raised again to 50s. a barrel.

The duty on spirits, which has risen from 11s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in England, 6s. 2d. in Scotland, and 5d. 7d. in Ireland, to 14s. 9d. per gallon all round in 1909, was further raised to the following scale:—

—	In Cask.	In Bottle.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
For every gallon computed at proof of spirits of any description (except perfumed spirits, brandy, rum, or the spirits next hereinafter mentioned), including naphtha and methyl alcohol purified so as to be potable and mixtures and preparations containing spirits	1 10 5	1 11 5
For every gallon computed at proof of all unsweetened spirits, other than brandy, rum (including imitation rum), and geneva	1 10 5	1 10 5
For every gallon computed at proof of brandy or rum	1 10 4	1 11 4
For every gallon of perfumed spirits	2 8 4	2 9 4

£ s. d.

For every gallon of liqueurs, cordials, mixtures, and other preparations in bottle entered in such a manner as to indicate that the strength is not to be tested 2 1 11

ADDITIONAL EXCISE DUTIES IN RESPECT OF IMMATURE SPIRITS.

—	Where the Spirits have been ware- housed for a period of Two Years and less than Three Years.	Where the Spirits have not been ware- housed, or have been warehoused for a period of less than Two Years.
	s. d.	s. d.
For every gallon of spirits computed at proof ..	1 0	1 6

For other taxes see pp. 14 and 15.

The extent to which the public revenue has benefited from the Trade is seen in the following table, which shows the net receipts (customs and excise) for beer, spirits, and wines, and liquor licences. The figures are from the Statistical Abstract, 63rd edition :—

Year ending March 31.	Beer.	Home Spirits.	Foreign and Colonial Spirits.
1896	£ 11,130,854	£ 16,380,134	£ 4,419,296
1897	11,320,358	16,816,484	4,526,928
1898	11,826,129	17,218,906	4,507,830
1899	12,085,822	17,967,142	4,440,943
1900	12,345,150	20,303,147	5,133,310
1901	13,940,536	20,124,003	4,987,787
1902	13,718,438	18,490,779	4,790,507
1903	13,706,012	19,033,296	4,955,035
1904	13,461,281	18,667,818	4,661,246
1905	13,101,459	18,135,931	3,996,476
1906	12,982,876	17,765,352	3,894,184
1907	13,070,933	17,745,125	4,216,342
1908	13,116,965	17,705,793	4,133,024
1909	12,691,332	17,456,366	3,961,142
1910	12,531,620	14,565,272	3,293,100
1911	12,767,217	18,751,206	4,298,484
1912	13,328,075	18,511,392	4,215,745
1913	13,200,343	18,432,492	4,166,795
1914	13,654,614	19,539,777	4,435,500
1915	15,881,516	20,302,500	4,972,005
1916	33,747,260	21,515,014	5,323,789

Year ending March 31.	Wine.	Liquor Licences.	Total.
1896	£ 1,254,994	£ 1,983,208	£ 35,173,486
1897	1,296,181	2,011,753	35,971,704
1898	1,325,372	2,044,044	36,922,281
1899	1,399,100	2,120,682	38,022,689
1900	1,729,540	2,157,962	41,669,109
1901	1,488,452	2,174,965	42,715,743
1902	1,449,687	2,211,784	40,661,195
1903	1,523,856	2,218,224	41,436,423
1904	1,335,792	2,232,380	40,358,517
1905	1,185,508	2,229,346	38,648,720
1906	1,175,789	2,227,720	38,045,921
1907	1,238,172	2,232,098	38,502,670
1908	1,177,494	2,222,359	38,355,635
1909	1,120,781	2,176,463	37,406,084
1910	1,123,152	2,151,956	33,655,100
1911	1,235,876	6,868,447	43,921,230
1912	1,088,346	4,670,392	41,813,950
1913	1,109,957	4,595,203	41,504,790
1914	1,152,291	4,516,679	43,298,861
1915	1,004,333	4,325,858	46,486,212
1916	1,077,870	3,521,375	64,107,438

The figures under the heading of Liquor Licences include also the receipts of comparatively small amount.

We have also to consider the ever-increasing burden of local rates which hit the licensed trade much harder than any other trade because of the different basis of assessment. The annual value of the licence to trade is taken into account in fixing the assessment of a public-house, and without doubt goodwill is often rated in this way.

Apart, however, from those engaged in the Trade, the consumers have a great grievance in this matter of taxation in that it relieves teetotallers of a very large share of the national burdens. This is opposed to the first principle of taxation, which is that it should be distributed over the whole community according to ability to pay, and not according to individual tastes in the matter of liquid refreshments. The comparatively small taxes upon tea and mineral waters do not represent the teetotallers' alternative contribution, because these latter beverages are also consumed to an almost equal extent, by those who drink fermented and distilled beverages.

XV.—THE NATIONAL EXPENDITURE ON ALCOHOLIC AND TEETOTAL BEVERAGES.

It has been the custom for some years past for the advocates of prohibition to issue annually, through the correspondence columns of the Press, a statement purporting to show the national expenditure on alcoholic liquor, which they choose to call "The National Drink Bill."

These estimates were first prepared by the late Mr. William Hoyle, subsequently by the late Dr. Dawson Burns, and during the past few years by Mr. G. B. Wilson, the secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Total and Immediate Suppression of the Liquor Traffic.

The object is to create public prejudice against the Licensed Trade.

Everyone knows, or everyone ought to know, that the brewers, the distillers, and the publicans have been not only the largest tax-payers, but also the largest tax-gatherers, and in that capacity have collected for the Government nearly a fourth of the total tax revenue of the Imperial Exchequer. With varying gravities and prices of beer, and the varying taxes and prices on wines and spirits, and the imposts additional to the direct taxes, the relation cannot be worked out with exactitude, but it is not unfair to say that in normal times a half of the total amount spent on "drink" is really taxation which the Trade collects on behalf of the Government, though owing to the extraordinary conditions of war time the proportion was smaller in 1916 and 1917, but it is uncertain how far other taxation, such as income tax and excess profits duty, have brought the proportion up again; and it would be just as fair to say that an ordinary tax-collector, with a salary of £500 a year, who collects, say, £50,000, is wasting the national resources to the extent of £50,500 annually, as to make a similar assertion with regard to the so-called "National Drink Bill." The chief difference between the ordinary tax-collectors and the tax-collectors engaged in the licensed trade is that the former are paid by the country, while the latter are not only unpaid but have actually become the victims of political persecution on the part of those who profit by the services which they render to the Exchequer.

The following are the estimates of the expenditure on alcoholic liquor as originally published:—

Year ended Dec. 31.	Total.	Per Head.	Year ended Dec. 31.	Total.	Per Head.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1885	123,268,806	3 7 10	1905	164,167,941	3 15 11
1890	139,495,470	3 14 4	1906	166,425,911	3 16 3
1893	138,854,829	3 12 3	1907	167,016,200	3 15 9
1894	138,737,822	3 11 7	1908	160,060,482	3 12 4
1895	142,414,812	3 12 9	1909	155,162,485	3 8 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1896	148,972,230	3 16 5	1910	157,604,658	3 9 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1897	152,281,723	3 15 6	1911	162,797,229	3 11 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1898	154,480,934	3 16 10	1912	161,553,330	3 10 9
1899	162,163,474	3 19 11	1913	166,681,000	3 12 5
1900	160,891,718	3 18 8	1914	164,643,000	3 10 10
1901	158,154,605	3 16 4	1915	181,959,000	3 18 11
1902	179,499,817	4 5 6	1916	203,989,000	4 8 6
1903	174,445,271	4 2 4	1917	259,000,000	5 12 6
1904	168,987,165	3 18 11			

These estimates have been prepared on the basis of average prices for the retail sale of the various kinds of liquor. Although the average prices can be nothing more than the crudest guess-work, the estimates might have been of value for comparative purposes if they had been prepared on a uniform basis. But the average prices have been varied in such a way as seriously to vitiate the compilation in respect to the earlier years. The variations have been as follows:—

(1) In 1902, the average price of beer was raised by Dr. Dawson Burns from 54s. a standard barrel to the inflated figure of 60s. a standard barrel. At the same time all spirits were lumped together and averaged at 26s. 6d. per gallon. (British spirits had previously been calculated at 20s. per gallon and other spirits at 24s.) No reason was given for these variations, but they necessitated the revision of the estimates for the earlier years. The effect will be seen by comparing the revised figures in the following table with the original estimates given above.

Year.	Revised Estimates.	Per Head.	Year.	Revised Estimates.	Per Head.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1885	141,039,141	3 18 3	1897	174,365,372	4 7 6
1890	159,542,700	4 5 1	1898	176,907,349	4 8 0
1893	159,020,709	4 2 8	1899	185,927,227	4 11 8
1894	158,932,134	4 1 11	1900	184,881,196	4 10 4
1895	163,133,935	4 3 4	1901	181,788,245	4 7 8
1896	170,426,467	4 6 4			

(2) In the estimates for 1909 (see *Times*, March 31st, 1910), for which Mr. G. B. Wilson was responsible, £4,500,000 was added in respect of spirits and £750,000 in respect of beer to cover increases in prices which resulted from increased taxation, but these amounts must be largely guesswork.

(3) In the estimates for 1910 (see *Times*, March 27th, 1911), spirits were calculated at 31s. 6d. per gallon, but the old average price of 60s. per standard barrel was retained for beer. The late Mr. E. G. Poole, in a letter to the *Times*, pointed out that as the result of careful inquiries he had come to the conclusion that the expenditure on beer was over-estimated by at least £9,849,021.

(4) In the estimates for 1914 (see *Times*, April 13th, 1915,) Mr. Wilson changed the whole basis of calculation from "standard" to "bulk" barrels (the "standard" barrels represent the amount of beer reckoned at a specific gravity of 1055 deg. ; the "bulk" barrels represent the amount of beer produced irrespective of the specific gravity) and he put the average price at 57s. for 11 months, and 75s. for one month, the increase being to cover the war duty. He also admitted, in a letter to the *Times* of April 16th, 1915, that he had based his estimate on the barrels brewed in the 12 months ending December 31st, whereas in previous years he had adopted the figures in the Board of Trade Return, which represented the production for the 12 months ending November 30th.

Statistics prepared in this way lose some of their value. By varying the average prices and the period dealt with, and by ringing the changes on "standard" and "bulk" barrels it would be possible to make the drink bill large or small to suit any argument it was intended to support. This was illustrated by Mr. E. G. Poole in the *Times* on April 14th, as follows :—

	£
Mr. Wilson's estimate for 1914 on new basis of calculation	164,463,000
What the estimate would have been on the old basis of calculation	167,000,000

Mr. Wilson showed a decrease compared with the previous year whereas a calculation on the same basis as in the previous year would have shown an increase.

Mr. Wilson's 1917 Drink Bill. The "Drink Bill" estimate for 1917 appeared in the *Daily News* of March 13th, 1918, and is as follows :—

"The consumption of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom during 1917, measured in terms of absolute alcohol, shows a decline of approximately 38 per cent., as compared with 1916, and 50 per cent. as compared

with 1913. On the other hand, the expenditure shows a large increase, over 26 per cent., as compared with 1916, and 54 per cent. as compared with 1913. It is, in fact, the highest on record in the history of the United Kingdom.

"Factors making for restriction of consumption dominated the situation. The most important was the restriction on output of beer and on the withdrawals of spirits and wines from bond imposed by the Food Controller as from April 1st, 1917, but relaxed as to beer and wine by later Orders during the summer and autumn. The following is the consumption for the past two years:—

		1916.	1917.
Beer (standard barrels)	.. ..	29,855,000	21,054,000
Spirits (proof gallons)	.. ..	28,163,000	18,549,000
Wine (gallons)	.. ..	9,979,000	7,146,000

"Taken as a whole, the reduction as to wine was 28½ per cent., spirits 34 per cent., beer 40 per cent. The reduction in the standard barrelage of beer does not, however, represent a corresponding reduction in the number of bulk barrels of all gravities which were actually produced; on these the reduction was only 30 per cent. The standard barrel is the unit of taxation, and the materials required to produce such a barrel will produce a greater quantity of a weaker fluid. The legitimate lowering of the gravity of beer has been increasing during the present century, but since March last it has been phenomenal. In 1899 the materials producing 1,000 standard barrels produced 1,002 selling or bulk barrels; in 1914, 1,044; in 1916, 1,113; in the March quarter 1917, 1,120; but after the Order, during the rest of the year, no fewer than 1,393 bulk barrels.

"In other words, 2,800,000 more selling barrels were brewed out of the materials available in 1917 than would have been brewed out of the same materials if the average gravity of 1916 had been maintained. This has resulted in a helpful dilution of the alcoholic strength of beer during the past year, and also indicates one of the sources of the immense profits made by the trade during 1917.

"I estimate the amount spent on alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom in 1917 at £259,000,000, as compared with £204,000,000 in 1916, £182,000,000 in 1915, and £164,500,000 in 1914, being an increase of £55,000,000 over 1916, and £77,000,000 over 1915.

"The total consumption of absolute alcohol in 1917 was, approximately, 45,000,000 gallons, as compared with 73,000,000 in 1916, 81,000,000 in 1915, 89,000,000 in 1914, and 92,000,000 in 1913. Of this quantity, 73·6 per cent. was consumed as beer, 23·6 as per cent. as spirits, and 2·8 per cent. as wine.

"The expenditure on alcoholic liquors from August 1st, 1914, to December 31st, 1917, was at least £714,000,000, of which about £167,000,000 went directly in taxation.

"Foodstuffs used in brewing during 1917 were, approximately, 600,000 tons of barley and 65,000 tons of sugar. The addition of this barley to our bread supplies would have increased them by 268,000,000 4lb. loaves, besides providing 240,000 tons of milling offals for feeding stock. The whole of the sugar, in the form in which it is used in brewing, could have been used directly for human food. The barley must either be imported or home-grown; the proportion of each class is not stated. If entirely imported it requires 29 ships of 5,000 tons each, making four voyages a year; if home-grown, it necessitates the cultivation of over 700,000 acres; the additional use, in either case, of valuable labour."

The most trustworthy statistics, as apart from mere estimates, are those showing the quantities of liquor consumed.

Official Figures. The following table taken from the Statistical Abstract shows the quantities retained in the United Kingdom for home consumption over a series of years:—

Year.		Beer.	Spirits (Home and Foreign).	Wine.
		Standard barrels.	Proof Gallons.	Gallons.
1900	..	36,076,841	45,889,051	15,816,097
1905	..	33,259,654	39,331,928	11,890,749
1906	..	33,918,101	39,263,578	12,278,440
1907	..	33,786,447	39,982,512	12,282,077
1908	..	32,939,472	38,079,011	11,293,462
1909	..	32,294,076	31,003,423	11,398,924
1910	..	32,830,073	29,265,998	12,071,052
1911	..	34,240,675	30,687,105	11,217,708
1912	..	33,913,219	30,526,801	11,230,229
1913	..	34,915,687	31,793,845	11,307,549
1914	..	35,328,788	31,660,208	10,630,449
1915	..	29,127,308	35,019,747	10,226,294
1916	..	29,855,000	28,163,000	9,979,000
1917	..	21,054,000	18,549,000	7,146,000

The publication of Mr. Wilson's article drew from Mr. David Williams, of the Brewing Industries Press Agency, the following reply:—

"Mr. Wilson quite fairly puts his figures forward merely as 'estimates' and it may also be said that he shows quite a creditable restraint in eschewing the teetotaler's habit of exaggerating the national expenditure on fermented liquors. This is

not to say that Mr. Wilson does not exaggerate. He does, but quite modestly when we remember that he is bent on making a strong case. Mr. Leif Jones exaggerated still further, by adding a trifle of eleven millions on his own account. It will not be surprising if the figures are further inflated by the next enthusiast who dilates upon them until we get to such 'round numbers' as may effectually disguise the facts. For the present, I am content to accept Mr. Wilson's figures as pretty good guesswork, pointing only to the fact that his statement in regard to Drink is essentially partial. For the drink of the nation is not entirely composed of fermented liquors. When Mr. Weller enquired of the Rev. Mr. Stiggins what his 'particular vanity' was, the contemner of taps confessed to a fondness for pine-apple rum. There are all sorts of fancy drinks on the market even in war time, and the National Drink Bill in regard to these is very considerable. When we look at the figures showing the consumption of the more general 'household' beverages, such as Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa there is no need for exaggeration in order to describe the National Drink Bill as stupendous. One wonders why eminent patriots like Mr. Leif Jones and Mr. George B. Wilson, intent as they are on preaching national economy and in saving tonnage and transport, are content to tackle by halves the serious evils they deplore. For, as a matter of fact, you have all the features of so-called 'waste' in the half of the Drink Bill to which these gentlemen turn a blind eye. I cannot claim the familiarity of the late Mr. Edmund Poole with this important phase of National Economy. For many years Mr. Poole performed a real service by sending to the newspapers a carefully prepared 'estimate' of the Teetotal Drink Bill to supplement Mr. G. B. Wilson's figures. Applying Mr. Poole's methods we may be able to get pretty near to the facts.

"Unfortunately, the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs and Excise have published no figures in regard to the Imports of tea, coffee, and cocoa since the year ended March 31st, 1916. These figures have to serve for the year 1917, and there is no reason for thinking that they were greatly diminished or greatly increased in the latter year. The only change that took place was in the price of these commodities to the consumer, whether at home, in the teashops, the restaurants, or other places of entertainment. Prices went up all round; while the tremendous increase in the employment of women in all kinds of work was a considerable element in raising the total of the Drink Bill. For these women, numbering many hundreds of thousands, and taking their meals in the various shops, had to pay far more for their tea, their coffee, or their cocoa than if they had been at home."

" According to the Report of the Commissioners, as above referred to, the material figures, for home consumption, are Tea, 145,489 tons ; Coffee, 45,273 tons ; Cocoa, 15,445 tons ; Total, 206,207 tons. My estimate, calculated on the same basis as Mr. Poole adopted in previous years [an average cost of a penny a cup], gives an expenditure on tea, coffee, and cocoa—excluding mineral waters—of £152,513.713.

" It has to be observed that out of this large total, the revenue takes certainly less than ten millions in direct taxation. Mr. Leif Jones in the House of Commons after citing the exaggerated figures for the Fermented Drink Bill, suggested that the Government ' were getting less out of the Drink Trade.' Quite naturally, if the beer barrelage is cut down from 36 million to 14 million, the direct taxation must be considerably reduced unless you are going to put a prohibitive tax on the barrel. As a fact, the Government is getting more in direct taxation in proportion to the quantities brewed in the various years since the outbreak of war. But whereas every glass of beer produced in the country makes the brewer and licensee a potential contributor to the various classes of indirect taxation—income tax, super tax, and war profits tax—the Teetotal Drink Bill, so largely increased, only incurs an increased income tax, with a possible super tax in the case of the very big concerns of the trade. The profiteers of the Teetotal Drink Bill do not pay up for excess profits.

" In the matter of expenditure, then, we find that there is very little to choose between the Fermented Drink Bill and the Teetotal Drink Bill ; except that the direct contribution of the former to the Revenue is, even with all the restrictions on brewing, out of all comparison to the insignificant contribution of the teetotal drinks, while in the matter of indirect taxation the same remark may be made with additional force.

" On the question of tonnage both Mr. Leif Jones and Mr. G. B. Wilson ask for the justification for using 600,000 tons of our depleted shipping, for importing cereals, etc., for brewing. Quite apart from the very material consideration that every grain of barley used in brewing is of home production, and admitting the accuracy of the shipping figures as quoted, why, in the world, do Mr. Leif Jones and Mr. Wilson not inform us of the shipping and transport used in the teetotal drink trade ? I have quoted the figures for tea, coffee, and cocoa from the official return. The total is 206,207 tons. But the palatability of all these drinks depends on a very large use of sugar and probably it is underestimating the sugar required for sweetening these beverages at 2·5 times their own weight. If that be so, we must add 500,000 tons of sugar, every grain of which has to be brought into this country

in ships. The tonnage and transport of the teetotal drink bill is thus seen to be a far more serious drain on our depleted tonnage than is the fermented drink bill.

"I hesitate to ask you to allow me to trespass further on your space. But the barley which the teetotalers grudge to the brewers and the barley which the Government has in the past—as well as quite recently—commandeered for public consumption would never have been in the country but for the encouragement which the brewing industry has given to the cultivation of barley. And, in the face of the reports of eminent physiologists and food experts, it is not necessary for me to combat the suggestion of Mr. Leif Jones and Mr. G. B. Wilson that the sugar and barley which the brewer uses are not used as human food. The food value of beer is admitted; Mr. Leif Jones—when it answers his purpose—can exaggerate the 'bread' content of a gallon of beer. What is the food value of the beverages which are classed under the various headings in the Teetotal Drink Bill?"

With regard to the relations between the fermented and unfermented drink bills, it may be further pointed out that

beer is a highly taxed commodity and makes

The Economic Aspect. a special contribution to the cost of the war.

Aspect. Mr. Lloyd George put the case very clearly in his Budget speech on November 17th, 1914, when he said: "Every half-pint that a man drinks he will be contributing to the carrying on of the war." The raw material of beer is mainly produced in this country, whereas tea coffee, and cocoa are all imported, and have to be paid for with exports or gold. Moreover, beer probably involves less waste than any other beverage because the residual products provide valuable food for pigs and cattle.

[See Chapter IV for a further development of this subject.]

In dealing with the "Drink" Bill for 1911 Mr. Wilson produced some figures to show how much lower the expenditure on "drink" in the United Kingdom

Comparisons with other Countries. would be on the basis of the *per capita* consumption in certain of the Colonies. Commenting on the figures, the *Brewing Trade Review* of May 1st, 1912, said:—

"It would at any rate, we think, be less disingenuous on the compiler's part if he gave some comparison with certain older countries where the customs and habits of the people are less dissimilar to those of the United Kingdom. Let us see, for instance, how the United Kingdom's estimated expenditure of 162 millions will compare with what it would be if the *per capita* consumption in this country were on the

basis of France, Germany, Denmark, and Belgium. We should then arrive at the following comparison:—

—	Beer.	Spirits.	Wines, etc.
United Kingdom, estimate of actual expenditure ..	£ 102,740,000	£ 48,410,000	£ 11,646,000
United Kingdom, estimate of expenditure on basis of consumption in—			
France	29,829,000	93,972,000	1,527,955,000
Germany	83,068,000	112,482,000	45,186,000
Denmark	72,118,000	153,773,000	—
Belgium	173,687,000	73,327,000	47,050,000

COMPARATIVE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS.

The following tables showing the *per capita* consumption of Wine, Beer and Spirits in various countries are taken from the Parliamentary Return (Alcoholic Beverages, 1909), published in June, 1911. Unfortunately later figures are not available in respect of other countries:

WINES.

—	Consumption of WINE per head of Population in				
	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
France	33·4	31·2	38·7	36·5	32·8
Italy	18·7	18·9	33·9	31·7	26·0
Portugal	21·6	21·8	15·8	21·0	22·8
Spain	18·3	14·1	19·6	19·4	15·2
Switzerland	21·3	12·1	12·1	14·7	*
Bulgaria	7·9	4·2	4·6	8·6	6·8
Roumania	5·9	5·9	3·3	7·5	4·2
Austria-Hungary	4·2	3·5	3·5	7·3	4·6
Serbia	3·3	4·6	4·2	6·8	3·1
Germany	1·61	0·81	1·17	1·41	0·97
Australia	1·27	1·22	1·22	0·91	1·08
Belgium	1·03	1·12	1·03	1·01	1·01
United States	0·35	0·46	0·50	0·50	0·58
Netherlands	0·49	0·35	0·35	0·31	0·33
United Kingdom	0·28	0·28	0·28	0·26	0·26
New Zealand	0·13	0·14	0·16	0·16	0·14

* Not available.

BEER.

	Consumption of BEER per head of Population in				
	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
Belgium ..	48·8	50·4	49·5	48·2	46·0
United Kingdom ..	27·9	28·2	27·9	26·9	26·2
Germany ..	24·7	24·5	24·4	23·1	22·0
Denmark ..	20·9	21·1	20·5	20·9	19·1
United States ..	15·4	16·8	17·7	17·5	16·5
Switzerland ..	15·0	15·6	15·8	15·6	*
Austria ..	14·3	15·4	15·6	16·3	14·3
Sweden ..	13·4	13·7	13·0	12·8	11·1
Commonwealth of Australia ..	11·3	10·6	11·1	11·2	11·0
Dominion of New Zealand ..	9·2	9·6	10·1	10·2	9·7
France ..	7·5	8·1	7·9	8·4	7·9
Dominion of Canada ..	5·4	5·7	5·7	5·3	5·3
Norway ..	4·1	4·1	4·0	3·9	4·2
Union of South Africa ..	Can not be stated			1·4	1·3
Newfoundland ..	0·3	0·4	0·4	0·3	0·3

SPIRITS.

	Consumption of SPIRITS per head of Population in				
	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.
Gallons of Proof Spirit.					
Denmark ..	2·44	2·37	2·20	2·29	2·16
Hungary ..	1·98	1·76	1·98	1·98	1·54
Germany ..	1·43	1·43	1·52	1·45	1·58
Austria ..	1·32	1·32	1·54	1·54	1·32
Netherlands ..	1·43	1·43	1·41	1·34	1·34
France ..	1·37	1·35	1·27	1·32	1·32
Sweden ..	1·36	1·43	1·43	1·28	1·14
United States ..	1·21	1·26	1·36	1·20	1·14
Russia ..	1·07	1·20	1·20	1·16	1·10
Belgium ..	1·10	1·10	1·06	1·10	1·03
Canada ..	0·94	0·92	0·88	0·80	0·81
Commonwealth of Australia ..	0·96	0·76	0·88	0·70	0·78
New Zealand ..	0·73	0·77	0·81	0·80	0·74
Roumania ..	0·64	0·68	1·06	0·73	0·70
United Kingdom ..	0·92	0·91	0·91	0·86	0·70
Norway ..	0·51	0·55	0·57	0·59	0·64
Italy ..	0·29	0·28	0·35	0·66	0·56
Newfoundland ..	0·43	0·34	0·39	0·41	0·39
Union of South Africa ..	*	0·43	0·48	0·42	0·36
Bulgaria ..	0·08	0·10	0·15	0·13	0·10

* Not available.

For the years subsequent to 1909 the following are the statistics (compiled from the Reports of Inland Revenue Customs and Customs Excise) relating to consumption in the United Kingdom. Consumption per head of population, in

1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
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BEER.

Gallons								
26.16	26.44	27.35	26.88	27.51	24.29	22.86	16.70	

SPIRITS.

.58	.68	.68	.67	.71	.74	.77	.40	
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WINE.

.25	.27	.24	.24	.25	.22	.24	.15	
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It will be noted that when, in 1915, the consumption of the lighter liquors, beer and wine, fell off, mainly, and in the case of beer entirely, owing to the restrictions, the consumption of spirits, notwithstanding official efforts to reduce it, began to increase.

XVI.—REDUCTION OF LICENSED HOUSES.

In connection with the forcible reduction of licensed houses the reader may usefully refer to the views of John Stuart Mill quoted on page 186.

The theory that the amount of drunkenness is in proportion to the public facilities for obtaining liquor is falsified by the official statistics.

In the Introduction to “Licensing Statistics, 1907” (issued by the Home Office), it was stated that, excluding the large County Boroughs, the proportions of convictions for drunkenness to population and area had generally risen during 1905-6-7; and the report added:—

“This fact goes to support the inference suggested in the Volume for 1906 that density of population is the dominating influence, and that a decrease in licensed premises does not lead immediately or clearly—at all events so far as it has gone hitherto—to a decrease in convictions for drunkenness.”

There has been a steady annual reduction in the number of on-licences for many years past, and the rate of reduction was greatly accelerated by the Licensing Act, 1904, which provided for the closing of redundant houses, with compensation to be paid out of a fund provided by the trade. The following are the figures for England and Wales, from the Licensing Statistics:—

	Total Number of on licences.	Proportion per 10,000 of population.
1895	103,341	33.94
1900	102,189	31.69
1903	100,766	30.27
1904	99,929	29.71
1905	99,478	29.27
1906	98,894	28.80
1907	97,554	28.11
1908	95,517	27.24
1909	94,045	26.55
1910	92,484	25.84
1911	91,247	25.29
1912	89,849	24.50
1913	88,739	24.04
1914	87,660	23.50
1915	86,626	23.22
1916	85,889	23.02

Off-licences show a reduction from 25,405 (7.47 per 10,000 of population) in 1905 to 22,977 (6.16 per 10,000 of population) in 1916.

But with this reduction in these public facilities for obtaining liquor, there was during the two years prior to the war an increase in the number of convictions for drunkenness, which may not be unconnected with the driving of drinking into clubs.

(For table showing the annual increase in the number of clubs, see page 213.)

The following table compiled from the Licensing Statistics shows the number of convictions for drunkenness (males and females) over a series of years (England and Wales) :—

		Males.	Females.	Total.	Proportion per 10,000 of Population.
1905	..	164,864	42,307	207,171	60·95
1906	..	158,010	41,004	199,014	57·95
1907	..	157,146	39,918	197,064	56·79
1908	..	149,994	37,809	187,803	53·56
1909	..	135,973	33,545	169,518	47·85
1910	..	130,898	31,094	161,992	45·25
1911	..	139,552	32,578	172,130	47·71
1912	..	147,842	34,750	182,592	49·97
1913	..	153,112	35,765	188,877	51·16
1914	..	146,517	37,311	183,828	49·28
1915	..	135,811	33,211	135,811	36·41
1916	..	62,946	21,245	84,191	22·57

The convictions do not represent the proportion of drunks to population, because the worst offenders are convicted many times in the course of a year. The following comment on this point appeared in the Licensing Statistics, 1912. "Subject to difficulties in identification and keeping of records it would appear that in England and Wales 162,980 persons were in 1912 accountable for 182,592 convictions, i.e., there were 89·26 separate persons involved in every 100 offences of drunkenness." The corresponding figures for 1913 were 89·34 persons for every 100 offences; or, separating the sexes, 90 males or 86 females for every 100 offences.

Teetotalers assume that the absence of public-houses is synonymous with the presence of virtues, and they often point with pride to the fact that Anglesey has forty-two parishes without a public-house. The following comparison between Anglesey and Rutland proves, however, that the former county, with less than half the number of public-houses in proportion to population, has three times as much immorality :—

	Anglesey.	Rutland.
"On" licences per 10,000 of population (1916)	25·86	53·97
Illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried and widowed females aged 15-45 years. (Registrar-General's Report, 1916).	2·10	·89

And here is a significant comparison dealing with the country at large. Between 1906 and 1915 the convictions for drunkenness declined as we have seen on p. 102, and the number of public-houses declined as shown on p. 201, but the percentage of illegitimate births in the birth-rate increased from 3.94 to 5.54. (See *Times*, Aug. 19th, 1918. Letter from Mrs. Fisher.)

A comparison between a few towns selected at random from the Licensing Statistics, 1916, also serves to show that the volume of drunkenness bears no relation to the number of public-houses :—

			Drunkenness Convictions per 10,000	On-licences per 10,000 of Population.
Middlesbrough	..	..	72.44	8.70
Birkenhead	..	..	47.49	15.03
West Ham	..	..	43.03	6.64
Newcastle-on-Tyne	..	..	72.05	16.57
Portsmouth	..	..	13.71	27.50
Dudley	..	..	17.54	46.83

Consideration of this subject would not be complete without quoting the important words uttered by Mr. Robert Peacock, the Chief Constable of Manchester, at a bazaar in February, 1907 : "Last year, in Manchester alone, between the hours of midnight and six o'clock in the morning, 1,375 persons were arrested for drunkenness. The publicans of Manchester were not to blame for it. The people must have obtained the drink at clubs or at private houses."

The *Daily News and Leader* (the leading Radical Non-conformist journal) in its issue of February 10th, 1913, said with reference to the answers sent by a clergyman working in a poor Central London parish in reply to questions asked in connection with the *Daily News and Leader* religious survey :—

"On the general question of temperance reform the opinion is expressed that 'it is no use shutting up some public-houses, for people will drink.' The great need in such a poor and crowded district as this is that pure drink should be sold, and that public-houses should be more like cafés on the Continent where all could go without feeling ashamed of going."

The Middlesex Justices' experience in assessing compensation for extinguishing licences has not satisfied them that fewer public-houses lead to a decrease of drunkenness. The Chairman of the Justices, in moving the compensation levy for the past year, is reported in the *Standard* of January 11th, 1915, to have stated that between 700 and 800 licences had been extinguished in the Metropolitan Police area within

the last ten years, but, although there were so many hundreds of houses less, the figures for drunkenness in the area had risen. In 1894 they were 5·4 per 1,000, ten years later 8·7, and in 1913, the last available year, they had jumped up to 9·3. He regretted that the system of reduction appeared so far not to have met with success.

XVII.—MONOPOLY VALUE AND TIME LIMIT.

A few years ago the terms "Monopoly Value" and "Time Limit" were inevitable in any discussion on the relations between the brewing trade and the State. Less is heard of them now, but as at any time the confiscatory doctrines with which they were connected may again come to the front, their significance may be briefly explained.

"Monopoly Value" is defined by Section 14 of the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1910, as "the difference between the value which the premises will bear in the opinion of the justices when licensed and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed." All that this connotes should, according to the teetotal politicians, be taken by the State from the licence owners who at present enjoy it.

A fundamental error has, however, been made in supposing that all the difference between the value of the premises licensed and their value unlicensed represents a gift from the State. Even if it did, a proposal to take it away is a little out of the ordinary. It is not usual, either in public or in private life, forcibly to take back a gift, and it is not regarded as a sufficient reason for doing so that the gift has become more valuable since it left the giver's hands. To take an illustration from public life, it is doubtful if the Crown would have granted lands so freely to individuals in feudal days if it could have been foreseen that the land occupied to-day by the Strand, for example, would have become as valuable as it is now. But only the extreme kind of Socialistic politician would suggest that because of the enhanced value of the land to-day therefore it should all be confiscated by the State. But the case for allowing the value of licences to remain in the hands of their possessors is as strong as is the case for allowing modern landowners to retain their possessions. In most cases both have changed hands many times in the market; but whereas, in the case of valuable town lands the increment has been apart from any effort by the landowner, the increase in the value of licensed property has been owing in no small degree to the capital and enterprise which have been put into the business.

For many centuries innkeepers were free to prosecute their business where and as they chose; there were no licences. Then, for the purpose of police, the State intervened, and said to innkeepers, "You shall not conduct your business in future except with a licence from the magistrates." Clearly,

then, in its inception, the licence was not a privilege granted to the traders in alcoholic liquors, but a disability placed upon them : they were prohibited from following their occupation except upon obtaining a licence, to which in time a fine, in the shape of a licence duty, was attached. But, as so frequently happens in the affairs of men, the disability became softened in respect of many of those on whom it was inflicted, and was turned in some cases into a positive advantage. This change began to occur when, after 1869, justices commenced restricting the number of licences granted. As the population was meanwhile growing, the effect of the restriction of licences was, in places where the licences were not very numerous in proportion to population, to give a certain trading monopoly to those holding the licences. And that is the extent of the monopoly value properly so-called. It is not a very big thing. Comparatively a few years ago, except in special cases, it cannot have existed at all, for public-houses—owing to the policy pursued by the Legislature and the magistrates from 1830 to 1869—were so numerous that no one public-house owner could claim an effective monopoly. If he succeeded in monopolising a large share of the trade of the town, it was owing to his own exertions in cultivating custom. And even to-day, notwithstanding the increase in population and the reduction in licences which have taken place of late years, no one who uses his eyes in either town or country could say that (a few new suburban districts excepted) the owner of a public-house has, through the State restriction of licences, been granted a monopoly of the trade in his district. True, a certain fictitious monopoly value has been created by brewers competing with each other to buy houses for the outlet of their beer, but in those cases they have had to pay heavily for it.

Then, it may be asked, what is the value attaching to public-houses ? It is, for the greater part—in spite of the State attempt to create an artificial monopoly through the policy of restriction—the ordinary commercial value which any solvent and established business gathers round itself.

What Monopoly Value is. That most at least of what is carelessly called monopoly value is really commercial goodwill may be seen from the following hypothetical illustration, but one which is typical of public-houses all over the country. Two licences are granted in a street of a town ; the premises to which each is attached have an equally good situation. The monopoly value, therefore, is the same in each case. House No. 1 has a large amount of capital put into it, and the business is conducted on sound and enterprising lines. It develops into a large thriving place, with a big trade, and a selling value of many thousands. House No. 2 has little capital or

enterprise put into it, and drags on an existence as a mean, poorly-patronised tavern. Its value may be counted in hundreds. But the value of the privilege which the State has conferred upon it in the shape of a licence is exactly the same as that which has been conferred upon House No. 1. Yet according to the calculation of "monopoly value" theorists, almost the whole of the large value of House No. 1 is monopoly value, created by a State licence, and properly belonging to the State. All the value, they say, between the premises licensed and the same unlicensed is monopoly value—though the value of the premises unlicensed would probably not be more than a fifth of the value of the premises with a licence. The explanation is that since the licence has been granted the proprietors of the premises have, by their ordinary commercial methods of spending capital and labour and enterprise, built up a valuable goodwill. But it is theirs, as much as the goodwill of a draper's or a butcher's business belongs to the proprietors of those establishments.

Further, it must always be remembered that licensed premises have for the most part changed hands again and again in the market, and therefore the present owners having paid the full value for them, it would be unjust to turn round upon them and order them to pay that value over again to the State, even supposing it were all monopoly value to which the State had an abstract right.

It is open to the State to do what the Licensing Act of 1904 ordained—namely, to extract the monopoly value of a new licence. Under that Act the justices say to the applicant for a new licence: "You are asking for something which, under the licensing system, has a value other than the commercial value which will be the result of your expenditure of capital and energy; this additional value, the creation of the licensing system, is the result of the restriction of competition in the neighbourhood. We think it to be worth so much, and we cannot grant you the licence unless you pay that sum to us." It is not illegitimate for the State to say that, because no one is obliged to run a public-house, and the applicant can please himself whether he will hand over a large share of his prospective profit to the State or forego the business altogether. Quite a different set of considerations applies in the case of existing licences. But even in the case of new licences this principle of extracting monopoly value is not altogether a commendable one; at least it has its dangers. The licensing justices are naturally tempted to ask for a larger sum by way of monopoly value than the monopoly itself is worth, and the applicant is thus virtually forced into gambling on his chances of profit by offering to share with the State as large a portion as he deems safe of prospective profit of a commercial character, which is properly

his own, in order to get the chance of doing business. The more he has to pay to the State in this way, the less he will have to spend upon making his house a really commodious and comfortable place of public resort, and the harder he will try to buy cheaply and sell dearly, and the more he will be tempted to push sales, thus incurring a risk of selling drink to men who have had enough. It is not a principle of our Constitution that, except by way of ordinary taxation, a man should be forced by the State to disgorge a large share of the profits of his business to the State under pain of being refused permission to follow his occupation. And, for the reasons we have just stated, it is of doubtful expediency to begin this system with the alcoholic liquor trade.

Yet it may be said: "After all we must assume that there is some monopoly value in existing licences, and it is

not right that the licence-owners should go

**The Extent
of Monopoly
Value.** on year after year in perpetuity taking to themselves that value. Something, at any rate, is owing to the State, and means should

be found of getting it into the State's hands in

future." But the State does get something from the licences now. It levies licence duties, amounting to nearly three millions a year. Three millions capitalised on the basis of an annuity of twenty-five years would amount to a sum of seventy-five millions. Now, if the monopoly value be put at a quarter of the whole value of the licences, which seems a fair (to the public) estimate of an extremely difficult calculation, and one impossible of exact estimate, it looks as though the licence duties represented more than an adequate payment of monopoly value; for seventy-five millions, their capitalised value, is more than half the total estimated value of the "on" licences to-day. Mr. Asquith, in introducing the Licensing Bill, 1908, put that total value at 150 to 170 millions, and his supporters at lower figures, going down to 100 millions. Seeing that public-houses are subject to the ordinary rates and taxes which all houses of business have to pay, but based on high assessments in which the value of the licence to trade is included, and that these licence duties are additional, and are really equivalent to a special monetary return to the State for a special trading privilege conferred by the State, may we not take it that licence-owners do, as a fact, already return to the State the monopoly value which the State's licensing system confers upon them? The prospect of "monopoly value" awaiting the State's resumption diminishes on examination, and seems to reach vanishing point with this last consideration.

With regard to any "monopoly value" that may be created by the policy of closing redundant houses, it must be very slight, as if the houses are redundant their competitive powers

must have reached a low ebb. But in any case the Trade has to pay the compensation which is given on refusal to renew a licence, and is therefore fully entitled to any benefit resulting therefrom.

The following illustrative particulars taken from the "Licensing Statistics" for 1916 will show how the new Monopoly Value on new licences is worked in practice.

Monopoly Value at Work. In 1916, twenty-five new on-licences were granted, in addition to three new houses opened by the Liquor Control Board, which, of course, paid no monopoly value. For each of these twenty-five licences a monopoly value payment was demanded by the justices granting the licence, and in most cases other conditions were imposed as well. Here are three typical instances from the number.

At Watford a publican's licence was granted for a period of seven years, subject to the payment of £90 in three annual instalments, and subject also to the conditions that there should be no bar, that the licensed premises should be limited as defined on the plan, and that there should be no sale for consumption off the premises.

In Lincolnshire a publican's licence was granted for three years, subject to the payment of £300 in two annual instalments, and subject to the further condition that the public should only be admitted to the premises by certain specified entrances.

At Blackheath a beerhouse and wine licence was granted, subject to a payment of £30 in three annual instalments, with the further condition that there should be no bar or beer engine, that the premises should be used for restaurant purposes only, and that they should be closed on Sunday.

TIME LIMIT.

The "Time Limit" may be described as "deferred confiscation." This principle, or dodge, was embodied in the Licensing Bill, 1908. The proposal was to give notice to the licensed trade that, at the end of a "Time Limit," of fourteen years, all licences, including the goodwill of the trade, would be confiscated, and re-grants and renewals would only be made on the payment of full monopoly value, while all the conditions attaching to the grant of a new licence would apply. In other words, if the owner wished to retain possession of the licence he would have to buy back again from the State that which he had originally bought in the market and which the State had taken away.

The argument used to justify this proposal was that there is no property in a licence—that, in reality, as in terms, a

licence is granted for a year only, and there is no implication of renewal, and, therefore, no legal or equitable right in the licence-holder to expect renewal; that the State, therefore, is entitled to refuse renewal, without compensation, and to make any terms it chooses as a condition of re-grant; and the terms it in fact chooses are the full payment of whatever commercial value may attach to the licence.

This plea deliberately and openly ignores the rights recognised under the settlement provided in the Licensing Act of 1904. Further, it tacitly ignores the absolute right to renewal (save when forfeited for misbehaviour or unfitness) which, prior to the 1904 Act, existed in all ante-1869 beer houses; and these, it has been calculated, comprised a third of the retail liquor houses of the country. It ignores the practice of the Inland Revenue in assessing licensed property for estate duties, on the basis of permanent property rights in licences. It ignores the fact that owners of licensed property expend upon the premises money which could not possibly be got back within a year, and that investors of the trustee type have on a very large scale lent money on these premises and on the faith of the renewal of the licences. Most important of all, it ignores the fact that what it is proposed that the State should assume is in reality the commercial goodwill which the owner of the licensed premises has accumulated (or bought in the market) and which is as much his as is the commercial goodwill of a draper's shop or a hardware business.

All sorts of licences are granted in terms for a year at a time; but would the solicitor and the auctioneer admit that because their licences are granted yearly therefore they have no equitable right to renewal, and that, apart from misbehaviour, the State might, at the end of any year, refuse to renew their licences, or refuse except upon condition that they should hand over to the State the profits they make from the possession of their licences? By the possession of their licences, auctioneers and solicitors are in regard to their work placed in a certain position of privilege compared with those who have not such licences, and the profits—often very large profits—which they make by using their industry in connection with this privileged position are analogous to what is called the monopoly value enjoyed by public-house licence-owners. The contention, therefore, that no equitable right of continued renewal existed in public-house licence-owners before the Act of 1904 because those licences were granted afresh each year does not carry the supporters of this proposal far enough.

As for the period of grace which it was proposed to give the Trade, confiscation is confiscation with or without notice, and it makes little difference to the principle whether it takes place now or ten, fifteen, or twenty years hence.

XVIII.—CLUBS.

The teetotal campaign is directed mainly against the public-house, regardless of the fact that it is only one of the many channels through which alcoholic liquors can be obtained. This, at least, suggests that the ruin of the publican would more nearly represent the object in view than the promotion of temperance.

The public-house, ale-house, or inn, in the broadest aspect, has been from time immemorial the public club, where men

could meet together for social intercourse and refreshment. But owing to the misguided efforts of so-called "temperance" reformers, the facilities for social intercourse have been more and more restricted, and as a direct result we have seen the rapid growth

of working-men's clubs. These clubs are, in many cases, little more than unlicensed public-houses. They compete directly with the public-house under conditions which are unfair to the publican, as the following summary of the regulations governing the public-house and the club shows:—

THE PUBLIC-HOUSE.

Pays a licence duty equal (publican's licence) to half or (beerhouse) one-third of annual value of premises, subject to a minimum.

Licence subject to approval of annual Brewster Sessions.

If a new licence granted, a heavy payment in respect to "monopoly value" is exacted.

Must contribute to compensation fund for extinction of licences regarded as redundant.

Highly assessed to local rates because licensed for sale of liquor.

Cannot make any structural alteration without consent of justices, while price demanded for such consent may be the surrender of one or more other licences.

THE CLUB.

Pays a registration fee of 5s., and 6d. in the £ on alcoholic beverages ordered.

Registration a purely administrative act.

New clubs pay same fee as old ones.

Pays nothing, but may gain substantially from reduction in number of licences.

Assessment same as for ordinary dwellings, though supplying intoxicants.

Free to carry out any extensions or alterations it pleases.

THE PUBLIC-HOUSE.

Can open only for stated hours. May not open at all in Wales on Sundays, and in England only for restricted periods.

Subject to close and constant supervision by police.

No games, however innocent in themselves, may be played for any stake, however small.

Billiards not to be played during closing hours or on Sundays, Christmas Day or Good Friday.

Dancing not permitted without a special licence.

Music and recreations in general disapproved of on the ground that they encourage drinking.

Presence of drunken person on licensed premises a serious offence.

No child under fourteen to be at any time in the bar during hours of opening.

Child messengers not allowed.

It may be said that only a member, or friend, can obtain admission to a club ; but that restriction counts for next to nothing, as there is a system of affiliation in force under which a man, by paying as low a sum as a shilling per annum, may become an affiliated member of more than 1,000 clubs, and obtain drink at any one of them at any hour of the day or night, if they happen to be open, and all day on Sunday.

The vast majority of these clubs, political and otherwise, depend on the profits made from the sale of alcoholic liquors for their existence, and they regularly advertise their entertainments so as to attract the custom of affiliated members. Many of these entertainments which vary from a dramatic performance to a music-hall variety show take place on Sunday and are largely patronised by men, women and children. Particulars of these entertainments and the attractions offered can be seen in any issue of *Club Life* or the *Club and Institute Journal*.

THE CLUB.

*Can be open at any time day or night, Sunday or week-day, if rules so framed. Sunday concerts, plays, whist parties, boxing competitions, &c., freely indulged in.

*Can only be entered by police under certain exceptional conditions.

No restriction on games. Playing of all kinds of games, for stakes or otherwise, habitual, and gambling often notorious.

No restrictions as to billiards.

Dancing unrestricted. Balls, Cinderellas, &c., frequent.

Theatrical performances, variety entertainments and concerts given in club-rooms, where drinks are continuously supplied.

Presence of drunken person on club premises no offence.

Children admitted to entertainments where drinking is going on.

Child messenger can take home beer supplied to father as a member for " off " consumption.

* The war regulations are not taken into account, as they are only temporary.

The Growth of Clubs. The following figures taken from the Licensing Statistics show the growth in the number of registered clubs, since registration was made compulsory :—

	Total.	Proportion per 10,000 of Estimated Population.
1904	6,371	1·89
1905	6,589	1·94
1906	6,721	1·96
1907	6,907	1·99
1908	7,133	2·03
1909	7,323	2·07
1910	7,536	2·11
1911	7,912	2·19
1912	8,209	2·25
1913	8,457	2·29
1914	8,738	2·35
1915	8,902	2·39
1916	8,520	2·28

The rate of increase is sometimes referred to as trivial ; but we have to bear in mind that the increase in the number of clubs is no guide to the increase in membership. Mr. Edwin A. Pratt, in a memorandum on the subject, made a striking estimate of club membership. He said :—

“ Leaving aside for a moment the Blue Book figures, I would point out that when, on November 26th, 1907, a club deputation waited on Mr. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in regard to the promised Licensing Bill of 1908, it was stated that the following organisations were represented :—

	Clubs.	Members.
Working Men's Club and Institute Union	1,200	400,000
Association of Conservative Clubs ..	1,300	510,000
Federation of Yorkshire Liberal Clubs ..	180	26,000
Federation of Lancashire Liberal Clubs ..	151	22,000
Kent Association of Workmen's Clubs ..	39	6,200
 Total	 2,870	 964,200

“ Taking the figures for 1909 in the case of the first two organisations, and keeping to the figures for 1907 of the three others, we get the following results :—

Working Men's Club and Institute Union	1,322	500,000
Association of Conservative Clubs ..	1,400	513,000
Other central organisations	300	54,200
 3,082	 1,067,200	

The number of clubs in the Club and Institute Union rose from 1,322 in 1909 to 1,645 in 1917, and the membership from 500,000 to 619,000.

After making allowance for canteens, factory dining-rooms, etc., Mr. Pratt concludes that there were in 1909, 2,271 clubs, with a membership of 340,650, not affiliated to any

central body, and he estimated, therefore, that the total membership of working men's clubs in England and Wales in 1909, without reckoning any of the canteens, etc., which are not strictly clubs, and without any allowance for the membership of clubs in Scotland and Ireland, amounted to, at the very least, 1,400,000, and, would probably, if the full figures were published, approach to close on a million and a half.

Mr. Ernest Winterton, in a pamphlet entitled "The Drink-selling Club," published by the Church of England Temperance Society, says :—

"The real trend of the club movement is shown by the fact that the clubs affiliated to the Club and Institute Union have nearly all become dispensers of alcohol.

"From their own returns it appears that in 1864 only 25 per cent. supplied beer; in 1874, 41 per cent.; in 1883, 79 per cent.; and in 1911, 96 per cent."

It is not suggested that clubs should be subjected to further restrictions. At the same time, however, greater liberty and a wider scope should be allowed in the development of the public club or public-house, as it is surely not in the interests of sobriety that drinking in private should be encouraged at the expense of drinking in public. There is evidence to show that much of the drunkenness for which the publican is blamed is really the result of the consumption of liquor in clubs or private houses.

In 1912 two private members' Bills were introduced in the House of Commons to bring clubs more under control, but although one of them got as far as the Committee stage no further progress was made. The debates showed (1), that the House of Commons recognised the glaring inconsistency of applying all sorts of restrictions to public-houses while leaving clubs to carry on the liquor trade with little or no restriction; and (2) that Parliament is afraid to make any attack on the liberty of club members because it might bring political disaster to the party concerned. This will be seen from the following views expressed in the second reading debate on the Clubs Bill introduced by Sir W. A. Gelder (Liberal), which took place on May 3rd, 1912.

Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, who seconded the Bill, said :

"The absurdity and futility of the present state of the law is very well illustrated by what happened at Leeds. £1,674 was spent in the extinction of an ordinary beerhouse licence. Immediately it was extinguished a drinking club was formed for the mental and moral improvement of the industrial classes, but it is recorded that men, women

soldiers in uniform, and even young girls, used to leave the place, cursing and swearing at each other, in the early hours of the morning with every circumstance of disorder and debanchery. The club was struck off the register, but the very next day it was opened under another name, and when it was again struck off the register it was opened round the corner in another street. £24,000 was spent in the West-street district of Leeds in extinguishing fourteen licences, and yet I am told, owing to the starting of these clubs, there was more drunkenness than ever in that district.

"The facility with which these clubs are started is very well illustrated by what happened at Worksop. There, during the famous Budget of 1909, the miners were incensed at the attitude of a firm of brewers, and they boycotted the beer brewed by that firm. But this highly honourable, self-denying ordinance was very quickly modified by the establishment of three drinking clubs, which are, I believe, still in existence, and doing a very handsome trade."

Mr. C. H. Roberts (Liberal) said :—

"Not merely are there complaints as to abuses and to the weakness of the law, but there is also evidence of a distinct attempt to stultify the effect of legislation by the creation of these clubs, and by using the institution of clubs as a weapon to paralyse the action of the licensing justices, and reduce the process of the reduction of licences to a farce."

Mr. Samuel Roberts (Unionist) said :—

"Unfortunately we have not the figures to show the total membership of clubs, but there are two places which I may quote where we have the necessary figures, namely, Bradford and Leeds. In the case of Bradford, in the three years, 1907-10, there has been an increase of only two clubs, but there has been an increase in the number of members of no less than 5,498. In Leeds there has been a decrease of one club, and an increase of 3,700 members. I looked at the accounts of one club in Leeds, which was founded for the promotion of political and social intercourse. What did the accounts show? That papers and books came to £15 10s.—and that is the only item of expenditure that can possibly be put down to anything like political and social intercourse. All the other items relate to matters of indulgence or luxuries—pipes, matches, glasses, new pumps, traps, etc., billiards, bagatelle, cards, and sales of liquor—which is very much the largest item—£1,547. The clubs have this about them, that at the present time the law is so extended towards them that they are competing in an unfair manner with the licensed victualler."

Sir Thomas Whittaker (Liberal) said :—

“ It is not fair that we should be dealing strictly and stringently with the licensed trade and allowing practically a non-licensed trade to spring up.”

Sir Ellis Griffith (then Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department), speaking on behalf of the Government, said :—

“ Really we are in danger of approximating a state of affairs where any advantage that may be gained by the decrease in the number of public houses may be counterbalanced by the increase in the number of clubs. . . . The police authorities also inform us that there are a great number of clubs in the country which not only reproduce the evils of badly-managed public-houses, but, owing specially to the lack of police supervision, are liable to reproduce them to a greater extent.

“ As the House knows, there is a great difference between securing a conviction for drunkenness against a public-house and against a club. All you have to do in the case of a public-house is to find a drunken person coming from the premises. But that is not enough in the case of a club. In the latter case you must prove that there is frequent drunkenness on the club premises. That is a very vague phrase. That discrimination between public-houses and clubs in my view, speaking personally, is not a very good thing. I think they ought to be on the same footing, at any rate as far as the law regarding drunkenness is concerned.”

It is useless to try to force people into total abstinence by abolishing or limiting public-houses while other sources for the supply of liquor are open. This point was brought out by both Liberals and Unionists in the debate on the Scottish Temperance Bill in 1912, and an amendment was passed in Committee to make clubs subject to the same restrictions as public houses. But that amendment was deleted at the instigation of the Government when the Bill came up for third reading. Mr. Barnes, the Labour member, speaking on the subject in the House of Commons on October 9th, 1912, said :— “ It is too late in the day to talk about the freedom of the individual, and especially is it too late to do so after we have been discussing for two days a Bill which prevents an individual going to a public-house before ten o’clock or getting liquor after ten o’clock at night. . . . Immediately this Bill becomes operative clubs will spring up and take the place of public-houses everywhere. . . . Just let me read a statement received from the Glasgow Town Council with regard to convictions for drunkenness in the City of Glasgow alone during the last nine years. The number

of clubs proceeded against during the period was forty-three. The number of cases of persons seen leaving these clubs in a state of intoxication was 3,225, and upwards of 2,200 of these cases occurred on Sundays. The official who sends me these figures on behalf of the Glasgow Corporation adds these words on his own account :—

“‘ These cases were proved in court, and exceeded the number of cases from all the licensed premises in the city.’

“ Exactly the same testimony comes from elsewhere. . . . During the last two or three years the Aberdeen papers have been full of cases against these clubs, and it came out some time ago, in regard to the National Club, that ninety-three bottles of whisky were sold on a Sunday morning, in addition to a great deal of beer, and in addition also to orders booked. The amount of money taken was £76, a good deal more, I presume, than would have been taken by half-a-dozen public-houses.”

XIX.—RELIGION AND TEETOTALISM.

Christianity and teetotalism are incompatible. That is to say, teetotalism as a doctrine. There is no objection to a Christian abstaining from fermented beverages if he chooses to do so. He may even be actuated by a religious reason for his abstinence ; for the Christian Church encourages asceticism within reasonable limits and for specific purposes. Thus the members of certain religious orders abstain under rule from fermented beverages. They also abstain from meat, and of course from marriage ; but no slur is thereby intended upon drinking, any more than upon eating meat or marrying. The only attempt to foist general teetotalism upon Christians have been made by heretics as, for example the Manichees, with whose doctrine, by the way, modern teetotalism has a curious affinity.

The Church condemns drunkenness, and in the strongest terms, since it is comprised under the head of gluttony in the list of mortal sins ; but the Church has not condemned the moderate drinking of fermented beverages, and could not condemn it, for the reason that a fermented beverage is an essential component of the Blessed Sacrament.

Our Lord's teaching by example is also emphatic. His first miracle was the provision of a generous wine to a wedding party in which the supply of wine had run short. A more absolute and contemptuous condemnation of teetotalism as it is preached nowadays could hardly be imagined. By way of contrast it may be recalled that Mahometanism, the great and bloody foe of Christianity in the East, a religion noted for the cruel and debased tenets which characterises it, does make teetotalism one of its doctrines.

In further demonstration of the attitude of the Christian religion and of the Hebrew dispensation which preceded it we may cite the following texts from the Holy Scripture.

The first are from the Old Testament :—

Psalm 104, verses 14 and 15 :

“ He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man ; that he may bring forth food out of the earth ;

“ And wine that maketh glad the heart of man.”

Proverbs 31, verses 6 and 7 :

“ Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts.

“ Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.”

Isaiah 25, verse 6 :

"And in this mountain shall the Lord of Hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees,* of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well refined."

Ecclesiastes 9, verse 7 :

"Eat thy bread with joy and drink thy wine with a merry heart."

In the New Testament there is incontrovertible evidence that Christ Himself partook of wine. He was indeed taunted by his enemies with being "a wine bibber," which would hardly have been the case if he had discountenanced the use of wine. (See Matt. 11, 19).

St. Paul in the 1st Epistle to Timothy, chapter 5, verse 23, wrote :—

"Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities."

As to the turning of water into wine, at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, attempts have been made to explain this away by the entirely unsupported assertion that the wine referred to was unfermented. The onus is on those who make this assertion to prove it, and they cannot do so because the translators of the Bible either meant fermented wine or something which was not wine, and, if the latter was the case, they would obviously have chosen another term. Not only is the teetotal assertion in this matter unsupported, but it is flatly contradicted by the remarks which the guests at the wedding feast made when they tasted the miraculous wine—that the host had kept the good wine to the end. They would not have made this remark about an insipid, unfermented beverage. Besides, we know that other references in the Bible refer to fermented wine, and the same term would not have been selected to describe two beverages entirely different in character. For instance, in the parable alluding to the folly of putting new wine into old bottles, the reference must have been to fermented wine, as otherwise there would be no danger of the bottle bursting and no point in the parable. Moreover, the greatest Biblical scholars have ridiculed the assertion that the wine of the Bible was non-intoxicating, as the following quotations will show :—

"The theory of two kinds of wine—the one fermented and intoxicating, and unlawful, and the other unfermented, unintoxicating and lawful—is a modern hypothesis devised during the present century, and has no foundation in the Bible, or in Hebrew or classical antiquity."

(From Schaff's Religious Encyclopedia, 1884).

* "Wine on the lees" means matured wine which has been long in store.

" Various kinds of wine are mentioned in the Jewish records, but there is no record of an unfermented wine being used by the Jews of our Lord's time."

(From "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," 1883, by Alf. Edersheim.)

The Bishop of Willesden, a fanatical teetotaler of 40 years' standing, in a letter to the Alliance News of January 8th, 1914, said :—"The spirits of to-day and the highly fortified wines are not for a moment to be compared with the 'wine' of Scripture, which I, of course, allow had a small percentage of alcohol." It is difficult to see how the Bishop can have gauged the alcoholic strength of Scriptural wine, but in any case his admission explodes the theory of non-alcoholic wine.

XX.—DRINK AND THE WAR.

The efforts which have been made by the teetotal agitators to exploit the great European War for the furtherance of their own particular fad represent the most discreditable episode in the history of the temperance movement. At a time when politicians and public men of all shades of political opinion were appealing for national unity, these fanatics did not hesitate to sow the seeds of discord. Their campaign had for its ultimate object the prohibition of the sale, manufacture and consumption of all alcoholic liquors, and in their attempts to persuade, or frighten the Government and the public into adopting their proposals they slandered in turn nearly every section of the community, and represented their countrymen, to both friends and enemies abroad, as a nation of drunken sots incapable of self-control, and only fit to be treated as children. Much of the agitation has been carried on openly, but even more has been carried on underground. These latter and more sinister intrigues are difficult to trace to their origin, but their general aim has been to create the impression of a popular and spontaneous demand for the further drastic restriction and ultimate prohibition of the liquor trade. The press has been manipulated, and crowds of letter writers have been brought into the field in the attempt to hoodwink the public. Needless to say, well meaning people were deceived, and a number of public men were induced to support an agitation the character of which they did not investigate or understand. The method of procedure adopted at the commencement of the war was to try to create the impression that public excitement had found vent in an orgy of drunkenness and licentiousness. The charges brought against various sections of the community group themselves under the following heads:—(1) Charges of lack of patriotism against members of the trade; (2) Charges of drunkenness against the soldiers; (3) Charges against the public of making the soldiers drunk; (4) Charges of drunkenness against the soldiers' wives; (5) Charges of drunkenness against the workers in shipbuilding yards and munition factories; (6) Charges of drunkenness against the general public.

The charges against the trade are summed up in an article on "The War and the Liquor Traffic," by G. B. Wilson, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance,

**Charges
against the
Trade.** in the 1916 edition of the Alliance Year Book. He writes:—

"The Trade has been weighed in the balances and found wanting . . . and henceforth all who are engaged or interested in it must face the fact that

they are engaged or interested in a traffic of which the necessary and inevitable results have been proved beyond demonstration to the whole world to be directly inimical, in the highest degree, to the very existence of the nation. . . . It is only the insidious and often unconscious influence of personal habit, financial interest and political prejudice which has prevented the nation from following the dictates of its awakened conscience and registering a verdict of 'Guilty' against the Trade, and calling upon the Government to carry into effect that final execution which alone can put an end to the evils for which strong drink is responsible."

This quotation fully exposes the malicious spite which inspires these professional teetotalers. Even more malicious accusations may be found in the booklets published by Mr. Arthur Mee, such as "Defeat" and "The Fiddlers." On page 38 of the former publication the writer speaks of the Trade as "an enemy fouler still" than the German Empire.

A refutation of these slanders is to be found in the speech of a statesman who would not be regarded as a champion of the Trade. Speaking in the House of Commons on the Budget on May 4th, 1915, Mr. Lloyd George paid a tribute to the spirit and temper in which his proposals had been met by members of the licensed trade, and said : "There is no man in this House who has fought them harder than I have ; but I am bound to say that they met the appeals which I made to them in a patriotic spirit, in an attitude of mind which could leave nothing to be desired from the point of view of anybody who is trying to help this country along. I feel bound to say that as an old political opponent of theirs."

In the debate on the Defence of the Realm Bill on May 11th, 1915, Mr. Lloyd George said :—"The difficulties are not coming from the Trade. I have been met in the fairest possible manner by representatives of the Trade."

Speaking in the House of Commons on March 8th, 1916, on the subject of restricting the importation of materials used in brewing, Mr. Runciman (then President of the Board of Trade) said :—"I take this opportunity of recording my appreciation of the readiness with which the traders concerned have met the wishes of his Majesty's Government in the matter."

Many tributes have been paid at Licensing Sessions to the publicans for their patriotic conduct, of which the following is a sample :—

The Chief Constable of Bristol, addressing the Licensing Justices on October 5th, 1914, said :—

"While there were people who were desirous and tried to

push, as it were, their narrow opinions down other people's throats, the licensed trade were doing all that they could to assist the police in keeping good order in the city."

Writing to the Greater Birmingham Licensed Trade Committee, in commendation of the action of the licensees in closing on Remembrance Day, the Bishop of Birmingham says: "I may add that I am not surprised. In this, and in many other ways, the patriotism of your trade has proved itself during this war, and I am grateful to you for the help you thereby give to the determination of the nation to give its best effort in this righteous war."—(*Burton Daily Mail*, 7th Aug., 1918.).

It might have been expected that the soldiers would at least be safe from the slanderous tongues, but they were the

first victims of the teetotal onslaught. Lord

Charges against Soldiers. Kitchener's warning to the Army to avoid excess was misrepresented as a demand for total abstinence. The Executive Committee

of the Church of England Temperance Society passed a series of resolutions calling upon all soldiers to take the pledge even "although a certain amount of risk to health may arise from drinking impure water." The teetotal organisations issued posters demanding a teetotal Army. It was sought to justify these demands by charges of wholesale drunkenness against the soldiers, and when the military authorities began to show signs of resentment the attack was switched on to the soldiers' wives. There is, however, overwhelming evidence that the charges were false, and that there has been no abnormal drinking among the soldiers or their wives. The following is a selection of authoritative opinions on the subject.

In the first place the military authorities distinctly repudiated the appeal for total abstinence by supplying rum to the troops at the front (scientific opinions in support of the rum ration will be found on page 64) and by providing that troops billeted in this country should be supplied with *a pint of beer* or mineral water of equal value with their dinner.

The Rev. William J. Adams, Senior Chaplain of the Territorial Forces, writing to the *Liverpool Daily Courier*, of October 15th, 1914, said:—

"At the request of the military commandant of the district, the Chief Constables of Lancashire and of Liverpool have been asked to report as to the conduct in Liverpool and some neighbouring places. Mr. Caldwell, the Head Constable of Liverpool, says: 'I have had enquiry made, and my superintendent reports that in the districts to which you refer there has been no increase of drunkenness. Since mobilisation

only one Territorial has been arrested for being drunk, and on the whole the conduct of the men has been exemplary.'

"Mr. Ormerod, the Assistant Chief Constable of Lancashire, reports: 'I enclose herewith a return showing the number of cases of drunkenness in which proceedings have been taken during the period in which Territorial troops have been stationed in the county districts concerned up to and inclusive of September 30th, 1914, together with the numbers proceeded against in the corresponding periods of the preceding four years. This return shows that there has been a decrease of 43 per cent. in drunkenness in 1914, as compared with the average of the preceding four years, and up to the present I have had no unfavourable reports regarding the Territorial troops.'"

Certain persons in Halifax passed a resolution calling for more stringent measures for closing public-houses. Colonel H. D. Thorold, commanding the 33rd Recruiting Area, who was consulted, wrote to the Chief of Police :

"As regards the thousands of men who have passed through my hands since the declaration of war, and have been under my command, I consider that the terms of the resolution are totally unnecessary and somewhat insulting to His Majesty's troops quartered in Halifax, who are gentlemen in every sense of the word. There has been but one case of drunkenness during that period, and that occurred in Bradford. In my opinion, during this national crisis, when so many men are coming forward to serve their country, it is more essential than ever that they should be treated with tact and discretion, and their feelings not insulted by irritating legislation. A soldier should be allowed the full privilege of his civil rights, and not be treated as an irresponsible being when he dons the uniform."

Reports of proceedings at Brewster Sessions have been full of complimentary references to the behaviour of the troops in training at various centres. For example, at Retford the Police Superintendent in 1915 reported that "although troops have been quartered in the town since last August, and a number of soldiers have been home for week-ends, the men have been extremely well conducted, and there has not been a single case of drunkenness amongst them." Equally remarkable is the Blackpool Chief Constable's report, that, though no special restrictions had been enforced, the behaviour of the 12,000 troops billeted in the town was exceptionally good.

The Rev. Dr. Watson (an abstainer) speaking at a meeting of the Glasgow Presbytery, said (as reported in the *Glasgow Herald* of December 24th, 1914): -

"He did not think there was any evidence of excessive

drinking. He was there to say that he thought there had been exaggeration on the subject—that unfair and regrettable things had been said about their soldiers at this time. He wanted to say further that there was evidence of an actual decrease of drunkenness, that there had been fewer arrests for drunkenness since the war began than before, and, more remarkable still, fewer arrests of soldiers for drunkenness than before the war. He made this statement on the authority of the Chief Constable of the City, whom he had consulted on the subject. He was there also to say, on his own authority as the chaplain of Barlinnie, that never during his experience of five years had there been so few prisoners. There had been a remarkable decrease of drunkenness and a remarkable decrease of crime in the city since the war began."

It will be noticed that these testimonials refer to a period before the restrictions of the Liquor Control Board came into force.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children undertook a special enquiry, and the report appeared

Charges against Soldiers' Wives. in *The Child's Guardian* of January, 1915, the following being an extract :—“From the Society's point of view it can be said without the slightest hesitation that no greater

slander has ever been circulated concerning the habits of any body of people than the assertion that soldiers' wives as a class were lacking in the spirit of self-restraint, or that they were given to neglecting their children.

. . . Plain speech is necessary on this subject. It is becoming far too common to pass strictures on a whole class because of the misdeeds of a few. There is, as can be seen from the evidence adduced by the Society, no more reason to cast a slur on the reputation of soldiers' wives because some women are addicted to drink, than there would be to stigmatise the British as a cruel and callous nation because a small proportion of the people neglect or ill-treat their children.”

The matter was again referred to in the 31st annual report of the Society in the following terms :—

“As the result of the careful and exhaustive investigations made by the inspectors, it was possible, however, to kill the silly slander that the wives were, as a class, drunken women or neglectful mothers. Though from time to time reports of police-court proceedings, to which much prominence was given, gave disclosures of the wasteful use of separation allowances in excessive drinking, and consequent neglect of children, the general result of the enquiry was to prove that there was less intemperance amongst women than usual,

and that the wives of soldiers did not form a large proportion of the offenders."

At the annual meeting of the Manchester, Salford and District branch of the Society, held at the Manchester Town Hall, on June 30th, 1915, Mr. Robert J. Parr, the director, stated that :

" From enquiries made by the Society, working under the direction of the War Office, it was clear that less drinking than usual was taking place amongst women this year. There were still, of course, those who had always drunk to excess, but there was no sign that because men had gone to the war their wives were giving way to drink."

Mr. Keegan, writing to the *Birmingham Daily Post* of October 27th, 1914, said :—" This subject came up for discussion at a joint meeting of visitors attached to the North Edgbaston and Ladywood District Citizens' Committees in connection with the distribution of the Prince of Wales' Fund. The gentleman who introduced it asked that a deputation or resolution be sent to the licensing justices demanding a curtailment of the hours during which alcoholic drink may be sold. He drew a picture of the drinking habits of the female relatives of the brave fellows who had gone to the war that made me indignant, because I believed the statements to be wholly untrue or greatly exaggerated.

" At my request the chairman, Professor Muirhead, asked each visitor—and there were between forty and fifty ladies and gentlemen present—to relate their individual experiences. He prefaced his request by saying that there were one or two present who knew the district thoroughly, because their ordinary avocations took them constantly about it. Judge, then, of our surprise and pleasure when no one person present could be found to support the charges. On the contrary, testimony was forthcoming showing that the people were exhibiting a remarkable restraint and fortitude in very trying circumstances. In the end the proposition was withdrawn, and no action was taken."

The following are extracts from the views of well-known social workers, published in the London *Daily Graphic* of July 9th and 10th, 1915 :—

The Rev. Gerald A. Thompson, Secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society, says :—

" There is no proof of increased drinking among women. On the contrary, there is evidence in the other direction."

The late Mr. Thomas Holmes, the well-known police court missionary, connected for 30 years with the police courts of London, says :

" I am disgusted at these constant accusations of insobriety

brought against the women of England. It is quite true at the present time a number of them go to the public-house. This is a time of excitement for all of us. When their men are in khaki and are going away, it is natural that they should have a drink together. We may not approve of what they drink, but England is a free country. These accusations against the sobriety of women have been made for many years, and bishops have been foremost in making them. But the experience of prisons, hospitals, and workhouses will show the facts ; and I venture to say that each of these will give evidence absolutely against the assumption that there is increased drunkenness among women. The charge is a big mare's nest.

"The facts are that the drunkenness of women, so far as it can be tested or proved by figures of arrest and imprisonment or fine, has decreased."

The testimony of another Police Court Missioner, Mr. J. Greenhalgh (reported in the *Formby Times* of April 1st, 1916), may also be quoted. It is all the more significant since his words occurred in a temperance lecture delivered by him at Southport. He said :—

"He had been asked the question by the prison authorities, 'Is drinking amongst women on the increase ?' His answer might differ from what others might give, but it was this : that the women who were drinking before the war were drinking heavier now. There was *not* an increased number of women drinking. . . ."

The Bishop of Birmingham was reported to have given support to the charges against women in the Upper House of Convocation, but he seems to have taken a more liberal view in the August, 1915, issue of the *Birmingham Diocesan Magazine*, in which he writes :—

"You will have noticed that in Convocation the Upper House considered with some care the question of drinking by women at the present time, and on my initiative a resolution was carried that enquiry should be made into the facts of the case. I was anxious that nothing should be done hurriedly, as *I know with what ease wild statements travel about on social and moral subjects*. But I was obliged to deal with the question, as some of my own clergy had approached me on the subject with expressions of great anxiety. Since Convocation I have instituted fresh enquiries and with the most curiously contradictory results. I do not want to prejudge on the subject, but I can even at this juncture say that everything points to the fact that on the whole the women of England have come magnificently out of the present time of stress."

The teetotal intriguers launched a big campaign in March, 1915. The outlook in connection with the war was critical,

Charges against Workers. and the effects of our unpreparedness were making themselves apparent. The big ship-building and armament firms had taken on more work than they could execute, and they were behindhand with deliveries. Lord

Kitchener said bluntly in the House of Lords that the armament firms had accepted huge orders, but had not been able to deliver at the time promised. Somebody or something had to take the blame, and Mr. Lloyd George was induced to make speeches, in which he attributed our troubles to "drink." "Drink," he said, was doing us more harm than all the German submarines; and, in another speech, that we were fighting Germany, Austria, and "Drink," but the greatest of these foes was "drink." When challenged he whittled down his charges of excessive drinking to a few workmen who were said to be keeping all the others back. A deputation of ship-builders and others waited on Mr. Lloyd George to support his onslaught and demanded total prohibition. In a few days, when it was thought the public were sufficiently alarmed, full-page advertisements—costing hundreds of pounds—appeared in the daily papers, with coupons demanding total prohibition, which readers were asked to sign and send to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith. At the commencement of the agitation the teetotal organisations kept in the background. The organisers of the full-page advertisements were said to be Henry Randall, of London, and Angus Watson and Company, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, assisted by a committee. The committee included among its members the Right Hon. T. R. Ferens, M.P., Hon. Treasurer of the United Kingdom Alliance, and Richard Cadbury, a Vice-President of the Alliance, and a member of the cocoa family. But the connection of the United Kingdom Alliance with the agitation was more directly established by the following disclosure which appeared in the *Morning Post* on April 9th, 1915:—

"To estimate the real weight of public opinion that is behind the present agitation for extreme and drastic measures of dealing with the drink problem, it is necessary to know how far that agitation is spontaneous and how far it is being engineered. Up till now, the recognised temperance organisations have kept in the background of the movement; but that they have not been inactive is shown by the following circular letter, from the United Kingdom Alliance, which has been sent to us by several of the firms to which it was addressed.

"Of course, the United Kingdom Alliance is entitled to take such a measure to promote its ends; but certain phenomena, which seemed most impressive before, lose something

of their value and significance in the light of this activity on the part of the leading teetotal organisation :—

“ ‘ Dear Sir,—You will doubtless have observed the striking advertisements which have recently appeared in the public Press issued by a body of gentlemen of high standing in the business world advocating the complete prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors during the war. The promoters of this movement are anxious to publish within the next few days as large a list as possible of the names of important business houses who support their proposals. I therefore enclose a suggested form of letter in the hope that you may see your way to take part in this great movement by allowing your firm’s name to appear as supporting this proposal. Mr. Angus Watson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, is particularly anxious that every letter should be sent on the firm’s own business paper, and the original list of signatories will be forwarded in the course of a few days to the Prime Minister.

“ ‘ I should be very much obliged if you will forward your reply to Angus Watson and Co., Newcastle-upon-Tyne.—Yours faithfully,

“ ‘ GEORGE B. WILSON.

“ ‘ The United Kingdom Alliance, 16, Deansgate, Manchester, April 6th, 1915.

SUGGESTED FORM OF LETTER.

“ ‘ Dear Sir,—I.....of....., employing.....hands in the manufacture of.....am entirely in favour of the suspension of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor during the war, which step I consider imperative for its quick and successful termination, and I will heartily support the Government in any action they may take in the matter.—Yours faithfully,

“

The annual report of the Southport and District Temperance Society, quoted in the *Formby Times* of April 22nd, 1916, contained the following :—“ Immediately after Mr. Lloyd George’s great speech at Bangor, your Committee issued about 10,000 circulars in the following terms, duly addressed to Whitehall, London ” :—‘ Southport, April, 1915.—I, the undersigned, heartily support the prohibition of the liquor traffic.’ And we have good reason to believe that a very large percentage were made use of and dispatched to the proper quarter.”

For a few days it looked as if the Government might be stampeded into some measure of prohibition, and the tee-

totalers openly boasted that their great dream was about to be realised. They have since made no attempt to conceal their bitter disappointment at the breakdown of the plot, and in the 1915 annual report of the United Kingdom Alliance we read :—

“ When the story of these eventful days comes to be revealed, it will, we think, be found that just at this juncture the attention of Mr. Lloyd George was turned from the pressing immediate need for prohibition to the dream of a great State drink monopoly.”

The real explanation of the collapse of these various plots is to be found in a very decided expression of public opinion. Mr. Asquith himself led the way in repudiating the charges made by Mr. Lloyd George against the workers. Speaking at Newcastle-on-Tyne on April 29th, 1915, Mr. Asquith made no reference to “ drink,” but he said :—“ The main armament firms register the very high average figure of from 67 to 69 hours per week per man. That certainly disposed of the charge of shirking.”

The True Temperance Association addressed a circular letter to a number of representative manufacturing firms asking if work had been retarded by the drinking habits of their men. Of the fifty-two replies received forty-one had no complaints to make, and many spoke in high praise of their workmen.

Mr. J. M. Hogge, M.P., one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Temperance Legislation League, writing in the *Globe* of April 8th, 1915, said :—

“ It is an easily ascertainable fact that there has been no abnormal drinking.”

The Labour Party also took the matter up on behalf of the workers, and a member of the party (Mr. O’Grady) said, in the House of Commons, on April 30th, 1915 :—

“ In their [the Labour Party’s] opinion no case had been made out for ascribing the loss of working hours in the shipyards to excessive drinking. The books of an approved society of which he was the chairman were flooded with men on the sick list, not because they had drunk too much, but because they were physically exhausted.”

Mr. John T. Calder wrote in the *Tablet* of March 11, 1916 :—

“ I have under my control over a thousand men, and for the last twenty years any trouble arising from drunkenness or even drinking, is practically non-existent. It is not only my experience, it is that of nearly all employers with whom I have discussed the question. Only the other day I asked an engineer

in Shropshire, employing nearly a thousand men also, ‘Have you **any** trouble from drinking?’ and his reply was, ‘I have only one fellow who takes too much, and he is one of my best men.’ I can speak with some authority, for I know a great many manufacturers, and their opinion is all in the same direction.”

For further discussion of the war-time effort to secure prohibition see Chapter X.

The White Paper on Labour and Drink. During the agitation above referred to a White Paper on “Shipbuilding, Munitions, and Transport Areas,” was issued. It contains the material upon which Mr. Lloyd George said he had founded his charges and proposals.

The first document is an Admiralty report on the percentage of hours worked by Government employees in Portsmouth Dockyard during a week in April, 1915, from which it appears that 84 per cent. of the men worked more than the normal 48 hour week, 11 per cent. worked the normal number of hours, and only 5 per cent. worked less than the normal time. This was a very bad start for the charges of slackness and excessive drinking. It also afforded a clue to the figures of lost time furnished by some private employers. Government shipyards had not been drained of their good workmen by enlistment. In private yards, on the contrary, good workmen had enlisted in large numbers—the net result being the employment of men of irregular habits, from whom short time was naturally to be expected.

The reports in the White Paper contain several references to this explanation of inferior workmen. Thus, the Government’s “Special investigator” sent to Partick and neighbouring places reported that “the majority of the men are of opinion that the workmen employed are turning out as much as possible, but there is a want of skilled labour, as many of the younger skilled men have enlisted, and their places are filled by inferior workmen” (p. 20).

The shipbuilders’ deputation to Mr. Lloyd George “expressed themselves as satisfied that there was a general consensus of opinion on the part of the workers favourable to total prohibition” (p. 11). It is significant that the compilers of the White Paper, though reprinting a report of the proceedings of this deputation, refrained from reprinting the men’s vigorous reply; if they had done so the inept sentence just quoted, and others, would have looked very patently foolish. But as it is, other passages in the White Paper give the lie to this extraordinary assertion. “Prohibition would be resented,” says the summary from Port

Glasgow (p. 21). "Local opinion . . . would not tolerate total prohibition," echoes the summary of the reports from the Tyne (p. 22).

The White Paper contained a summary of some statistical material which the shipbuilders' deputation furnished to Mr. Lloyd George at the end of which occurs the following passage:—"The evidence is really overwhelming that the main cause of this alarming loss of time is the 'lure of drink.'"

The really "overwhelming" evidence that the lure of drink was the main cause of loss of time may be subjected to the discounting evidence taken from the White Paper itself. Here are a couple of extracts: The "detailed summaries" of the special investigators sent to the Clyde says that "the workers admit that the output should be increased, but in their opinion many of them are over-tired from working long hours of overtime, and they also allege that their meals are insufficient owing to the want of proper accommodation for getting meals in the yards" (p. 19). The Clyde factory inspector emphasises the fact that drinking is only one cause of bad time-keeping, and he notes such other causes as "the temptation to take a morning or a day off during very cold or very hot weather" from the "hard and exhausting work of riveting," which is "carried on in trying conditions—exposure in winter to bitter cold and damp"—a temptation rendered the greater by knowledge that "his pay is sufficient even with a partial week's work, to keep him and his family in comfort." And this inspector unkindly adds "teetotalers lose time, as well as those who do not abstain" (p. 25).

Having failed to induce Parliament to enact prohibition the teetotal agitators tried to extract from the public pledges

of voluntary total abstinence. The announcement that His Majesty the King had decided to banish alcoholic liquors from the Royal Household (an arrangement which was modified when His Majesty found it necessary to take stimulants to aid convalescence after

Demand for Voluntary Total Abstinence. his accident—see medical bulletin, page 64) was used as a lever, and two or three Cabinet Ministers adopted the pledge. But the other members of the Government declined to commit themselves. The members of the House of Commons refused on 20th April, 1915, to adopt a motion that no intoxicants should be sold in the House, and later in the year the members of the House refused to apply to themselves the Liquor Control Board's "no treating" regulation which was in force in every other part of London. What was good enough for London was not good enough for the House of Commons.

The following, among many similar opinions on the teetotal agitation may be recalled :—

Opinions of Public Men. “Total abstainers of the extreme and aggressive sort are diligently exploiting the war for the benefit of their particular panacea.”—Sir Jas. Crichton-Browne, M.D., in the *Morning Post* of April 13th, 1915.

“There is a widely distributed resentment against the methods of the agitation for total abstinence.

“I would plead for a considered and reasonable effort to encourage and assist moderate drinking, the habit of that genuine temperance which is both a natural virtue and a Christian tradition.”—The Right Rev. H. Hensley Henson, Bishop of Hereford, then Dean of Durham, in the *Times* of January 4th, 1916,

The Bishop of Leeds (Dr. Cowgill), on April 26th, 1915, said: “Some people did like being alarmists, especially those who did not approve of sport or of having a glass of beer, but he was not one of them. They certainly ought to be very discreet and do their duty to the utmost, but he did not think the country was going to rack and ruin just because a certain number of people enjoyed a little sport and did not think it necessary to take a strict pledge.”—From *Yorkshire Evening News* of April 27th, 1915.

XXI.—THE INDIVIDUALIST POSITION.

Those who write on the Drink question should never lose sight of the broad ground of individual freedom when conducting their controversies.

An Anglican Archbishop once said: “ Better England free than England sober.” It was a startlingly bold assertion for an ecclesiastical dignitary to make, but it embodies a fundamental truth. It is possible to pay too high a price for sobriety. If a drunkard makes a public nuisance of himself, the State does right to punish him—for the nuisance ; that is not an infringement of liberty, but protection of the liberty of others. If a man commits a crime while in a drunken condition, the law holds, and rightly holds, that drunkenness is no answer, and that the man must be punished for his crime. But it is not the business of the State to go further.

The fact that excessive drinking of fermented beverages clouds a man’s higher faculties and impairs his digestion, and constitutes a sinful act upon his part, is no reason why the State should interfere. Otherwise, we must not stop at fermented beverages. We should have to prohibit the excessive reading of cheap newspapers, which also deteriorates the higher faculties ; the propensity to eat too much meat and sweets and drink too much tea, which things are impairing our digestions ; and the malicious tittle-tattle of drawing-rooms, which is sinful. Indeed, there is no logical end to the interference of the State in private affairs, if once we admit the principle that because a thing is for some reason detrimental to the individual practising it, the State should stop him ; and still more, if we admit the principle that, because excessive indulgence in something is bad, the State should actively discountenance, or positively prohibit, moderate indulgence on the part of the general population.

It is contended by some supporters of restriction that the State is entitled to interfere with simple drunkenness, and even ordinary drinking, because drunkenness often leads directly to criminal acts. But, again, that is not a reason. If it were, we should have to carry the principle very far. Political discussions sometimes leads to broken heads ; but we do not yet prohibit political discussion. The policeman is a guardian of the peace, not of the conscience ; and his function only begins when a breach of the peace has been

made, or is imminently threatened. If we admit that the State has a right to probe down to the very roots whence, by individual perversion, disorder sometimes springs, we should inevitably arrive at a condition of intolerable slavery. That is why men who value man's most precious possession—freedom—oppose State teetotalism, even though these same men have, as they often do have, a most lively horror and vigorous detestation of drunken excess.

There is another, an ethical, reason why sobriety should not be sought by Act of Parliament—the reason, doubtless, which moved the Archbishop to utter his famous epigram—and that is, the essential futility of forcing virtue mechanically upon men. We do right to guard the ignorance of little children from various temptations to evil, just as we provide them with their maintenance without expecting them to work for it. We may deplore any wrong act which men may commit, and we may exhort them by counsel and encourage them by example to refrain. But it is not for us to prevent them by compulsory mechanism. That is getting dangerously near the Divine prerogative, and savours, at any rate, of presumption. Among the early Christians there was once a sect which practised, or counselled the practice, of a certain physical operation in order to remove temptation to impurity. The Church condemned those precursors of modern prohibition. God has endowed us with free will—it is an essential part of the providential design—and has placed us in a world where our free will to do right or wrong is exposed to constant test. And while it is wrong to place stumbling-blocks in our neighbour's way and deliberately to multiply occasions of sins, we fall into error at the other end if we try to make a compulsory re-arrangement of the universe and essay the impossible task of stamping out of existence every human institution (of which a public-house is a fair illustration) which by abuse may be made an occasion of sin. For there is nothing—not even attending church—which cannot be so abused. Virtue ceases to be virtue when a man is physically prevented from being other than virtuous. It is only the fanatic, or the well-meaning man in an undue hurry to make his neighbours conform to the right standard of conduct, who cannot see the difference between permitting deliberate temptation (such as the open circulation of pornographic literature) and reasonable acquiescence in the existence of things which may be either rightly used or abused.

Thus we make a wider appeal than that of a mere trade interest—wider even than that of the moderate drinker, who doesn't want his convenience restricted or his pocket depleted. The opponent of prohibitionist fads joins hands with all who are striving for the preservation of freedom. The Drink

question falls into line as an incidental feature of the struggle ; and it is from that standpoint that the Freedom Association approaches it. This standpoint is becoming all the more important now, because after the war the reasonable individualist position will need restatement and emphasis to combat the efforts which will be made by politicians and " social reformers " to rivet upon the nation in peace the fetters which were necessary, or thought to be necessary, for disciplinary purposes during the war.

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